THE BEST ROAD SOUTH:

EARLY AUTO TOURING AND THE DIXIE HIGHWAY IN INDIANA

Suzanne Hayes Fischer

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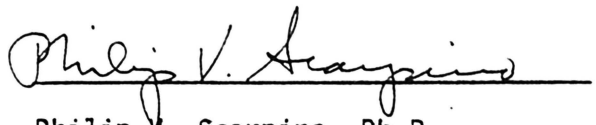
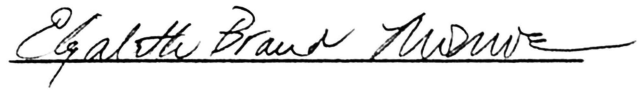


Philip V. Scarpino, Ph.D.

Thesis
Committee



Elizabeth Brand Monroe, Ph.D.

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Scott J. Seregny, Ph.D.

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INTRODUCTION

With the rise of auto tourism in the 1920s, systems of improved roads developed throughout the United States. Before this time, most of the major land-based transportation routes, whether road or rail, had emphasized east-west travel. A small number of rail lines in the East and Midwest connected northern and southern states via networks of hubs, but few direct routes existed. Promoters of north-south auto roads hoped that these routes would increase tourism and commerce between the regions.[1]

In Indiana, two major north-south routes handled most of the inter-regional traffic: Indiana Route 1 (hereafter called State Road 1 or U.S. 31), one of the first four state highways designated during the brief tenure of the first Indiana State Highway Commission in 1917; and the Dixie Highway, a scenic route proposed in 1914 by Lincoln Highway promoter Carl Fisher. The Dixie Highway was comprised of the northern portion of SR 1 (South Bend to Rochester), the old Michigan Road, and several smaller market highways, which later became state highways. Both routes had their Indiana origins in South Bend, passed through Indianapolis, and crossed the Ohio River at Louisville, Kentucky. Although the Dixie Highway was touted by its promoters as the major route to the South, SR 1 appears to have been more popular with motorists--particularly commercial drivers--because it was a much more direct route. In addition, the Dixie Highway was not a single road, but an interconnecting system of roads. The profusion of "Dixie Highways" combined with

multiple names for each segment led to motorists' confusion at thickly-signposted intersections.[2]

Through common usage, motorists began to think of SR 1 as the Dixie Highway, although it was never designated as such on official auto trails maps printed in the 1910s and 1920s. The majority of travelers seemed to prefer SR 1 for longer journeys because of its superior road surface and straighter route. Facilities for motorists developed more extensively along SR 1 until bypasses and interstate highways (I-65 and I-69) built throughout the 1950s and 1960s captured most of the long-distance traffic. Eventually, the popular conception of SR 1 as the Dixie Highway overshadowed the official route designation, at least for those who did not live along the original route. The concept of the Dixie Highway as the "best road to the South" embraced both of these major north-south routes and even extended to parallel routes such as the Dixie Bee Line through Fort Wayne and Muncie. *Dixie Highway* magazine frequently added to the confusion by recommending SR 1 as the best route from Indianapolis to Louisville. In the minds of motor tourists, the Dixie Highway was the route that they chose for their trip south, regardless of official route names.[3]

The idea for this paper grew out of a historic context study, *Facilities for Motorists, 1900-1945*, that I prepared for the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology in 1993-94. A historic context study provides background information for preservation planners and for preservationists who wish to nominate properties to the National Register based on historical significance in a

number of thematic areas. This study focused on the built environment and provided some background for the chapters on the rise of auto travel and development of the infrastructure. Part of the research for the context study involved driving the entire length of both the Dixie Highway and SR 1 in Indiana on several occasions.[4]

The context study gave a broad overview of automobile culture and facilities from 1900 to 1945. In this paper, I have chosen to focus on the years 1914-1934 because this period includes the formation of the Dixie Highway and the "golden age" of auto touring before the Depression. This paper is divided into two sections. The first gives the historical background and the second provides an interpretive framework in narrative form. The summer vacation of a fictitious, composite family of the mid-1920s provides a common setting for such diverse topics as speed traps, types of camping equipment, and roadside repairs.

One purpose of this paper is to present some of the collected material on auto touring and automobile culture that did not apply to the context study. The second purpose is to present this information in a format suitable for a museum exhibit on auto-related tourism in the 1920s. The exhibit might be structured as a series of full-scale dioramas corresponding to the topics covered, interspersed with photo and text panels. Information contained in Part 1 provides the historical background for these panels.

Part 1

Rise of Auto Travel

From about 1895 until 1904, the automobile began to gain acceptance primarily among wealthier Americans. The high cost of cars kept them out of reach of the average citizen in these early years, but thereafter, increased production and lowered prices -- intensified by Ford's introduction of the moving assembly line in 1913 -- combined to make automobiles more attractive to middle-class families. In 1923, more than 40 percent of the cars in Delaware County, Indiana, were Fords, as were more than half of the cars produced in the country. By the end of the 1920s, anyone who could afford one owned a car (most likely a Model T), and the average American no longer considered the automobile to be just a rich man's toy.[5]

Automobile advocates saw mechanized transportation as a replacement for the horse. Horses had several drawbacks: they required care and feeding even when they were not in use, they created health and sanitation hazards, they were not completely controllable, and they were subject to fatigue and injury. If one replaced a horse with an automobile, one would theoretically save money and improve sanitary conditions, although exchanging the risk of disease for that of fire. But, most city-dwellers did not own their own horses, finding it easier to rent a horse and carriage when necessary. These people would not save money by purchasing cars, and so they continued to rely on horses and public transportation.[6]

Aside from the wealthy sportsmen, the first significant group of automobile owners was made up of businessmen, engineers, and physicians -- all of whom could afford the expense. For businessmen and engineers, status and an interest in technology might have influenced the decision to buy an automobile; for physicians, the car quickly became a necessary tool in their practice. In the days when doctors made house calls, it was important for them to travel quickly, economically, and reliably. Cars enabled them to attend to more patients in a shorter time, and were not as likely to break down as were horses. Rural physicians in particular, who had to travel longer distances than urban doctors, found automobiles to be a cost-effective investment.[7]

Although deploring the nuisance created by city people and their fast automobiles, the rural population soon recognized the benefits of auto ownership. Motor vehicles could not only bring farmers' produce to market faster but also could lessen the isolation felt by many rural residents. Farm life became more bearable when the family could go into town for supplies and entertainment. But the farm family had little use for the fragile, buggy-type cars or low-slung sports models. Not until Ford developed the Model T in 1908 did the farmer have a practical and durable automobile that served his needs.[8]

Ford's Model T became the ultimate farm vehicle from its introduction in 1908 until the company discontinued its production in 1927. The Model T contained many features of higher-priced cars, but its cost to the buyer continued to decline steadily throughout its production run. Part of its attraction for farmers was its high

ground clearance, essential for driving on rutted dirt roads. The farmer could also drive his "T" right into the field or orchard and use the sturdy engine to drive other pieces of farm machinery, eliminating the need for heavy and expensive stationary engines or for hauling the produce elsewhere for processing.[9]

Automobile ownership appealed to what the public saw as traditional American values: geographic and economic mobility, speed, and independence. Cars gave their owners the freedom to travel at their own pace and provided instant status, leading people to project their identity through the types of cars they drove. The automobile permitted the spread of suburbs beyond the limits of existing public transportation by allowing workers to drive either to a commuter railway station or directly into the city. People could live in "nicer" areas and still get to work easily. Poorer people, who could not afford to buy cars (particularly inner-city immigrants and blacks), were stuck living within streetcar or walking distance of work, increasing the separation of city and suburb, poor and affluent.[10]

By the 1910s, automobility had become so important to Americans that many were willing to draw out their life savings or mortgage their homes for the cost of an auto. Although Ford's mass production capability enabled him to lower the price of the Model "T" in 1912 to below the equivalent of the average yearly wage, the single cash payment that Ford required was still beyond the reach of many people. Banks began offering financing and installment purchasing as early as 1910, but the first auto maker to develop its own installment program was General Motors, which instituted the General Motors Acceptance Corporation (GMAC) in 1919. Ford did

not follow suit until 1928, but kept lowering prices in an effort to make its cars affordable to the public. In *Middletown*, the Lynds found that working men in Muncie, Indiana, often spent as much as 25 percent of their income on car payments; between 75 and 90 percent of local auto sales were on the installment plan.[11]

Although installment purchasing and lower prices helped more people to own cars by the late 1910s, the cost of a car was still quite high when compared to the average person's salary. In Europe, most automobiles were made by hand in craftsmen's workshops, causing car prices to remain extremely high so that only Europe's upper classes could own them. But in America, mechanized production methods created a vast supply of automobiles while advertising created a great demand. Indiana's booming auto industry employed 7,219 workers in 1914 and produced $29,390,000 worth of merchandise, making automobile production the state's fifth largest industry that year.[12]

The Good Roads Movement

Before the Dixie Highway opened in the late 1910s, travel between north and south was slow and difficult. The southern states, in particular, had abysmal road conditions and a poor or nonexistent network of roads. Southern farmers were convinced that good roads were essential for transport of their produce and for Rural Free Delivery (see p. 11), but few improvements were forthcoming. Farmers' efforts were hampered not only by their lack of political and economic clout as a group but

also by regional resistance to federal funding for roads. According to historian Gary Tobin, the Good Roads Movement spearheaded by the League of American Wheelmen and American Automobile Association tended to be an urban phenomenon because the average farmer was too poor to buy a bicycle or an auto. Since the South was primarily agricultural, there were not enough auto or bicycle owners to form the associations of enthusiasts that lobbied so effectively for good roads in the North.

Southern legislators finally succumbed to the lure of tourist dollars, not to agrarian concerns. Most road improvements in the South followed tourist routes instead of connecting isolated villages and therefore had limited effect on the region as a whole. Dixie Highway promoters hoped that the route would open up the South to intra-regional commerce, but the lack of farm-to-market roads kept the benefits of the highway confined to a relatively small area. Without a widespread network of good roads, southern towns and rural areas would remain isolated from the rapid changes that were transforming society in the northern states.[13]

In *Open Road*, Phil Patton states that the spread of the automobile was determined not by how fast it could go but where it could go.[14] If the automobile served to liberate people from the confines of railroad tracks and schedules, it needed to be able to go anywhere, any time. On most of the nation's roads, full of deep ruts and mudholes, an auto was useless. One woman recalls driving from Westfield to Peru, Indiana, during the 1920s, a distance of about fifty miles. The trip took over four hours on the unpaved roads and if, "It got muddy, you didn't go." As automobile travel became more common, the new motoring public began to demand

good roads and a more extensive road network.[15]

Agitation for improved roads was not a new movement, nor did it begin with automobile owners. The League of American Wheelmen, a bicyclists' organization, began lobbying for better roads in the 1880s. Bicycling and motoring appealed to many of the same people. Several prominent Indianapolis businessmen who were later to become auto boosters, Carl Fisher, James Allison, and Arthur Newby, got their start on two wheels as members of the Zig-Zag Cycle Club, founded in Indianapolis in 1890. Zig-Zag members needed good roads for their outings into the countryside, but they were not a particularly effective lobbying group by themselves. Bicyclists were likely to be affluent and urban and live in the East or in the North Central states, a situation that did little to improve roads in the rest of the country.[16]

Farmers had also concerned themselves with the necessity of good roads, well before the advent of autos or bicycles. While many industrial products could travel directly from factory to consumer by water or rail, perishable agricultural products needed to move more quickly to the railhead by road. Only twelve rural communities in Indiana with populations of 500 or more had never had rail service (some of these were on rivers). Farmers in the hinterlands around these population centers still had to haul their produce to the nearest railhead -- often a distance of ten miles or more. Good farm-to-market roads were particularly important in the West and Midwest where distances were greater than on the East Coast and in the South. Poor roads made for extremely high transportation costs, created delays in moving perishables, and resulted in high prices for farm products. [17]

Although farmers and bicyclists both pushed for better roads, the Good Roads Movement did not make appreciable progress until around 1908, when road improvements became an important issue in national politics. By that time, automobiles and auto clubs had spread to most parts of the country. The automobile had come to occupy a solid place in American hearts, and auto owners grew into a powerful lobbying force, especially when allied with organizations such as the American Automobile Association (AAA). As early as 1895, motorists began forming voluntary associations to assist fellow auto owners with vehicle-related legal problems, educate them about mechanical questions, and work for better roads. They also organized races and other social events. Indiana's first auto association was the Flat Tire Club, a social organization formed in 1902 by a few wealthy Indianapolis motorists, including Carl Fisher and department store magnate Frederick Ayres. In 1911, the club reorganized as the Hoosier Motor Club, began recruiting members statewide, and started a serious campaign for good roads. In 1917, it became affiliated with the AAA. When the powerful alliance of auto owners added its support to that of the bicyclists and farmers, good roads became truly a national concern.[18]

Indiana had only four major roads before 1850. The National Road and the Michigan Road crossed at Indianapolis and carried most of the state's traffic, while two other roads connected New Albany with Vincennes and Lafayette. The federal government had invested in the National Road during the early 1800s as a means of encouraging settlement in the West, but most of the other roads were built and

maintained by adjoining property owners or private companies that charged tolls for the use of their roads. In 1877, individual counties in Indiana took over some of the responsibility for building new roads, called "free gravel roads," and purchased toll roads for use as county roads. The Lafayette Road (Route 52) was originally built as one of these free gravel roads. But no central authority existed for the construction or maintenance of Indiana roads, and improvements were few until the federal government intervened.[19]

The federal government's interest in good roads escalated with the inauguration of Rural Free Delivery in 1896. The government would deliver mail to outlying areas, saving rural residents the trouble of going to the post office in town; however, the mail would only come over gravel or macadam roads. States were slow to develop their country roads, putting most of their effort into urban streets. In 1912, the government passed a Post Office appropriation bill that required the federal government to furnish one-third of the cost for road improvements; the state and local governments added the other two-thirds. In 1913, Indiana tried to improve its roads further by adding the proceeds from automobile licenses to the highway fund. The 50,000 autos in the state were causing most of the damage to existing roads; therefore, legislators thought auto owners should pay for road repair and construction. By 1916, the need for improved roads was so great that the federal government passed the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916 that provided 50 percent matching funds for the construction of new rural public roads. Although the federal government furnished half of the cost, the individual states were to be responsible for maintaining

these roads. To ensure proper distribution and use of these funds, the Federal Aid Road Act demanded that each state organize a State Highway Department before it would be eligible for funding. Indiana had formed its own Good Roads Association in 1910, which advocated establishment of a State Highway Department as early as 1914. Nothing was done, however, until mandated by the Federal Aid Road Act of 1916.[20]

The Indiana State Highway Commission

The original Indiana State Highway Commission was established by the legislature in 1917, but due to objections from Hamilton County regarding its constitutionality, the courts stalled its implementation for two years. Also in 1917, the Indiana General Assembly had planned the network of roads that was to become the state highway system, and when the new Highway Commission was formed in 1919, the road system of 1917 was adopted with few changes. Figure 1 shows the new state routes, which included: the Range Line Road from Indianapolis north to South Bend and south along what is now U.S. 31; the National Road, now U.S. 40; a northern route across the state from Valparaiso through South Bend and down to Fort Wayne; a road from Vincennes to Aurora that is now U.S. 50; and a shorter connecting route from Evansville to Bedford via French Lick. Mr. M.E. Noblet, the president of the Hoosier Motor Club, believed that the reason behind Hamilton County's objection to the State Highway Commission was that the commissioners

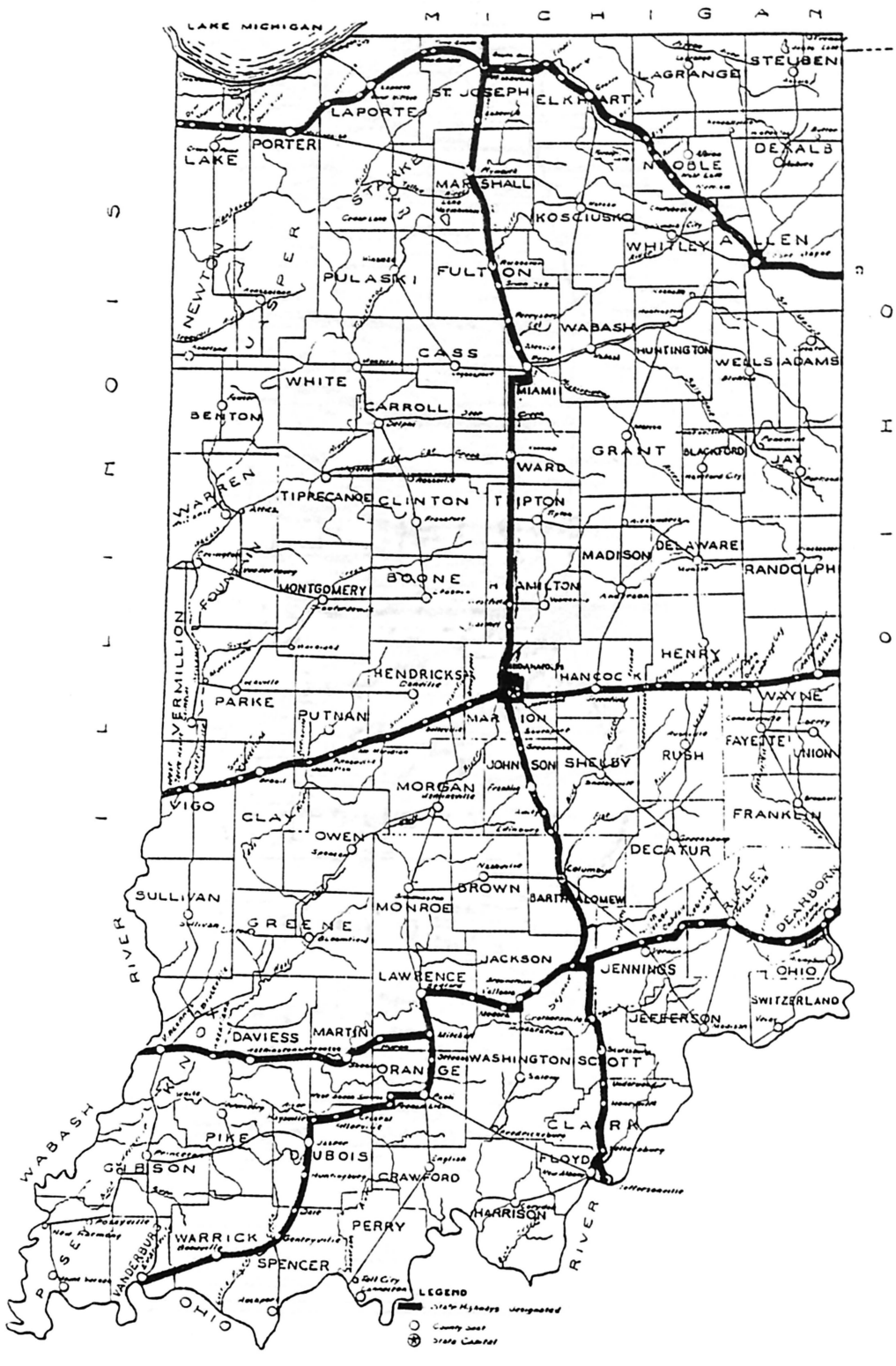

Fig. 1. Indiana State Highway System, 1919, as originally planned in 1917 (Indiana State Highway Commission, *Portion of State Highway System*, 1919).

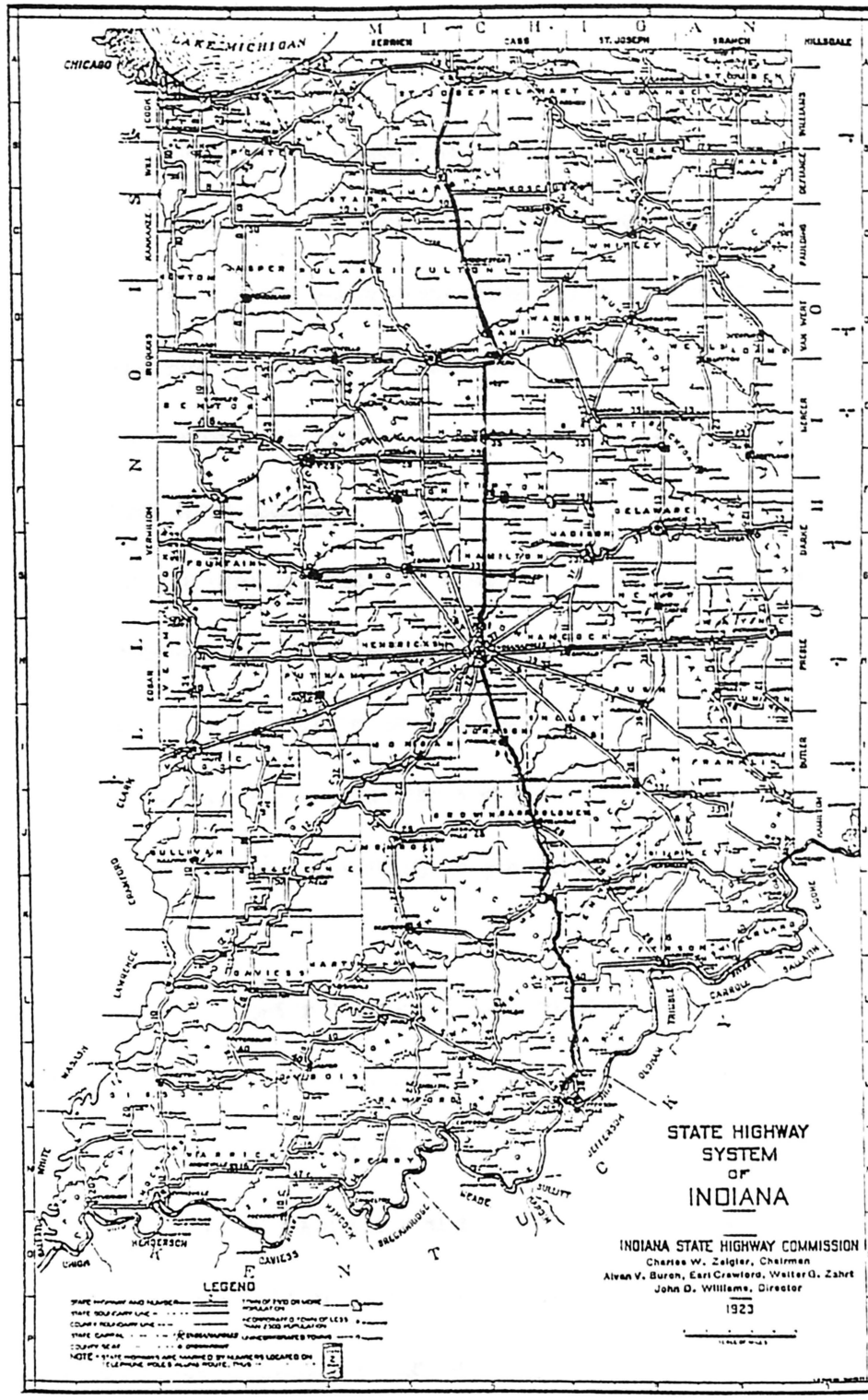

Fig. 2. Indiana State Highway System, 1923. All county seats are now connected by state highways (Indiana State Highway Commission, *State Highway System of Indiana*, 1923).

chose Range Line Road (U.S. 31) as one of the first state highways instead of the Noblesville Road.[21]

Under the provisions of the Federal Highway Act of 1919, the Commission needed to expand the network of state highways to link county seats, towns with a population of over 5000, and the major connecting routes of adjoining states. Figure 2 shows the state highway system in 1923 after the commissioners had met these conditions. Funding for the state highways came from a gasoline tax, motor vehicle licenses, and proceeds from inheritance taxes.* By 1926, the Indiana State Highway System was in place, but only the National Road was paved along its entire length; its paving had been completed by 1923 except for gaps left for railroad grade crossings. The rest of the state roads were gravel or dirt with a few paved sections connecting some of the more important towns. Indiana's gravel roads were superior to those of many states because of the easy availability of good quality sand and gravel throughout the state.[22]

The Highway Commission contracted road construction at the rate of approximately 100 miles per year of paved (asphalt or concrete) surface and several times that many miles of oiled or graveled surface. In 1922, Indiana led the nation with 42,292 miles of surfaced state and county roads -- 58% of the state's total road mileage. Ten percent of all the surfaced roads in the U.S. were in Indiana. By 1929, 1,425 out of 1,800 miles of Indiana's inter-state highways were hard-surfaced. The total state highway system consisted of 5,042 miles of roads, and the Commission

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* The gasoline tax was 2¢ per gallon in 1923, raised to 4¢ per gallon in 1929.

bragged that "on the average, every citizen is within 3½ miles of a State Highway." Today, most of the original state highways remain, but some have been straightened, widened, or relocated to bypass cities. Modern freeways run roughly parallel to the old state highways in most cases.[23]

Road Signs and Marked Trails

Imagine trying to drive from South Bend to Louisville today without road signs. It was even more difficult in the 1910s when the good roads were still unpaved and the main route looked the same as a farm track that would dead-end in a cornfield miles from one's intended destination. Even worse, at night or on rainy or cloudy days, motorists could not use the sun to determine if they were heading generally in the right direction. Some crossroads might boast a signpost indicating the way to the next town, but that was of little use to the long-distance traveler who was unfamiliar with local geography. Carl Fisher, motoring with some friends on a miserable rainy night, once battled his way up a telegraph pole to read a sign in hopes of finding some directions, only to discover an advertisement reading, "Chew Battle Axe Plug."[24]

State highway officials did not, as a rule, concern themselves with road markings until the mid-1920s. Directional signs and even warning signs were posted by citizens' groups and private individuals. The signs were not standardized; the color, size, and shape of signs varied from town to town. The federal government

began placing uniform road markers in 1924 concomitant with a new, federal highway numbering system. Under this plan, officials marked state and U.S. highways with white signs with black lettering. Warning signs were all yellow with black lettering, as was the "STOP" sign.[25]

The practice of marking "auto trails" appears to have begun with the Lincoln Highway project of 1913. The Lincoln Highway was an assortment of east-west roads running from New York to California and passing through northern Indiana, generally along U.S. 30. Motorists using the Lincoln Highway needed road signs to direct them along the proper route. The Lincoln Highway Association chose red, white, and blue striped markers that were attached to telephone poles or trees along the route. During the later 1920s, the same colors were repeated in concrete pylons where trees and poles were absent. Vandals frequently stole or defaced the signs; some citizens considered Lincoln Highway pylons to be desirable collectors' items. The distances covered by some of the named highways made it impractical for one central authority to place the signs, so local residents took it upon themselves to mark the routes. Many Dixie Highway route signs were painted and placed by local auto clubs, the Standard Oil Company, city authorities, and chambers of commerce. Dixie Highway signs were also red, white, and blue (some sources substituted black for the blue), with the red stripes running horizontally across the top and bottom of the sign and the words "Dixie Highway" in black letters on a white rectangle within a silhouette of three blue cotton bales on a white background. If this sign seems

confusing to the reader, it must have been even more bewildering to the motorist who had to make a quick decision regarding his direction.[26]

Communities or counties that did not benefit from either the Lincoln Highway or the Dixie Highway frequently chose to designate other roads as named highways or "auto trails." Some of these named highway schemes achieved national recognition, while others were unknown outside of their immediate area. Naming a route was primarily a promotional gimmick, and often did not designate a passable road. Highway engineers had little part in choosing these routes. Many trails overlapped for all or part of their lengths, creating a visual cacophony of signs at intersections. Indiana was cris-crossed by auto trails. As early as 1918, there were nearly fifty marked trails in the state. Some of the more obscure ones were the Corn Belt Route, Minute Man Route, Egyptian Trail, Pike's Peak-to-Ocean Highway, Wabash Way, and the Ben Hur Route. By 1923, the Yellowstone Trail, Dunes Highway, and the Dandy Trail around Indianapolis also appeared on motorists' maps, while some of the earlier names had vanished. Figure 3 shows the symbols for the auto trails in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan.[27]

Each marked trail had its own symbol displayed on telephone poles, either on a metal rectangle or painted directly on the pole. Some signs included the entire name of the route, while others had just initials or a pictograph. Primary colors helped the motorist identify some routes, but many signs used red-white-blue combinations that were difficult to distinguish at a distance. If the road formed a segment of several marked trails, signs might cover a telephone pole from top to

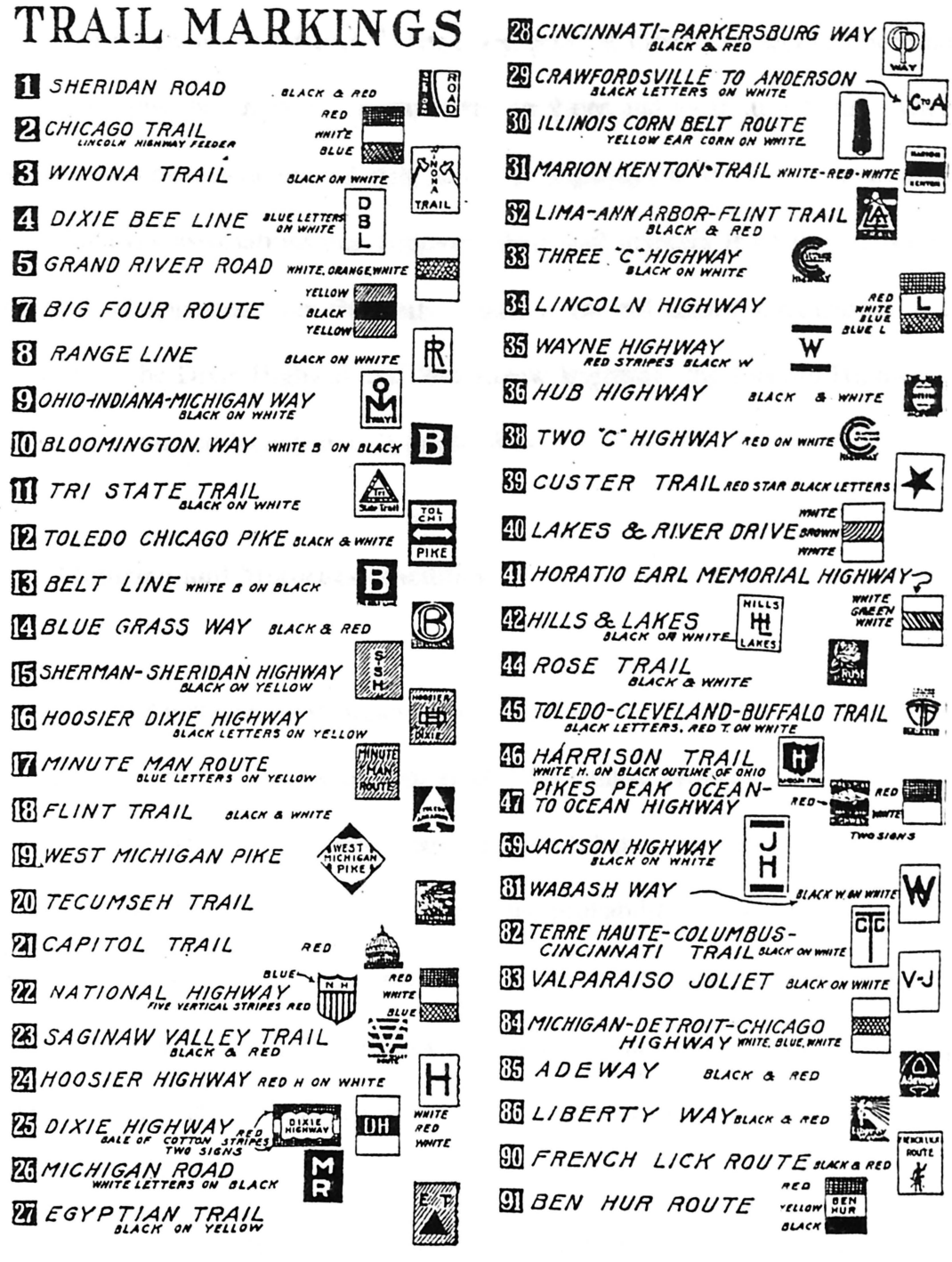

Fig. 3. Symbols for the marked trails in Region 2 (Indiana, Ohio, Michigan) from the 1922 Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Map*. These symbols appeared in *Hoosier Motorist* 6 (September 1918): 17.

bottom. Numbered state highways appeared on signs along with named trails, giving the motorist a choice of signs to follow. Signposts at urban intersections bore not only route signs, but markers for motorists' facilities and local attractions. After the federal government renumbered state and U.S. highways in 1924, it pressured the named highway associations into removing their trail markers from the roadsides. Auto trails disappeared from the maps. Some of the old names remained in common use, such as the Dixie Highway and Red Arrow Highway; the Lincoln Highway was frequently corrupted locally into "Lincoln Way."[28]

Early Motoring and Motorists' Facilities

When Americans first began traveling by auto at the turn of the century, they could not go very far because of poor roads, mechanical problems, and the limited range of the vehicle. A Westfield man mentioned that a motorist had to have a lot of courage to travel far from home because of the probability of flat tires and other mechanical breakdowns. Even short trips required a spare tire and tire pump. Early adventurers loaded their cars with essential supplies and camping gear, braved the hazards of the road, and enjoyed boasting about their triumphs over adversity to fellow motorists.[29]

In 1911, two Michigan men wanted to spend the winter in Florida but did not have enough money for train fare. They decided to make the trip by motorcycle, and except for taking SR 1 through Indiana, drove along much the same route the Dixie

Highway was to follow a few years later. Most of the hazards of the trip were due to road conditions, as one of the men (riding a 1909 Excelsior) explained: "We followed the old Louisville and Nashville pike, which was built before the war of '61, and it certainly looked it. I don't believe I ever rode over a rougher piece of road in my life. The road was built out of large cobble stones stuck in edgeways, with the sharp edges up. It was so rough in places that we had to get off and walk and push (and swear!)."[30]

Increasing urbanization and other problems of the machine age created a general feeling of nostalgia for the American past, and long-distance auto touring gave car owners an opportunity to recreate the "wilderness experience" for themselves. Early auto travelers were not tied to railroad schedules, train routes, or the formal dress and behavior that public resorts and vacation spots required.[31]

In the early days of auto travel, between 1890 and 1915, facilities for motorists were scarce. Long-distance travelers carried extra gasoline in cans strapped to their cars, along with several spare tires and tubes, water for the radiator, a tool kit, and perhaps an extra battery. Motorists could not be certain of finding essential supplies, especially in rural areas; therefore, they had to plan for every contingency. Gasoline stations as specialty businesses did not exist before 1907. Motorists purchased fuel at general stores or blacksmith shops. For example, the Oldenburg Garage, in Oldenburg, Indiana, still has gas pumps at the curb. The building displays the faded remnants of a sign that indicates the building was formerly an old carriage repair shop. Auto owners frequently bought gasoline in large drums that they kept at

home, but if they ran out of gas while on the road, they had to hope that the local storekeeper could meet their needs. Between 1907 and 1914, a few major oil companies began to build facilities designed especially for refueling automobiles.[32]

Early motorists did not have many choices of dining facilities before the end of World War I. Although soda fountains, cafés, and snack stands had been popular since the turn of the century, they were located only in towns and at parks or fairgrounds, not on the open road. As with other types of facilities for motorists, roadside eating places were not prevalent until after WWI. Chester Liebs attributes the postwar boom in roadside restaurants to people's dual desire to eat out and ride in the car. Motorists wanted restaurants where the entire family could eat inexpensively while on a long vacation or just a Sunday drive. Tearooms, family restaurant chains, food stands, and diners sprang up along the highways to accommodate the wave of automobile travelers.[33]

During the 1920s, auto travel experienced a boom as roads improved and auto prices fell. Registrations of pleasure autos in Indiana soared from 66,410 in 1914 to 627,173 in 1925. The middle-class Hoosier family with a Ford could now afford to take a vacation, previously a luxury when one considered the cost of rail travel, a hotel, and meals in the hotel dining room. Auto campers could buy cheap produce from local farmers and sleep for free in parks or by the wayside; gasoline was relatively inexpensive.[34]

These early campers did not have to travel very far to have an enjoyable vacation. In the early 1920s, towns in Indiana had opened many public parks to

campers. These parks offered free camping as a means of drawing tourist dollars into the local community. Even most privately-owned parks did not charge for camping, hoping to make a profit on the sale of gasoline and provisions. The City of Richmond offered its Glen Miller Park to tourists, claiming that it was the best park in the state; its fine drinking water, scenic beauty, playgrounds, and zoo probably attracted many visitors. Most of the parks furnished few amenities other than water and shade, but River Park (Broad Ripple) also featured amusements for a fee.[35]

Some tourists still preferred to camp away from their fellow-travellers, and would spend the night in farmers' fields or along the roadside. In the early 1900s, when auto camping was still rare, these "gypsies" caused few problems. But the proliferation of auto travel after World War I created problems for both tourists and their hosts. By 1924, hostile farmers were tired of auto campers littering their property and stealing food; lone campers were easy prey for criminals, and polluted streams made water unsafe for campers to drink. The low cost of auto travel also attracted "undesirables," and the towns that had once enticed visitors with free camping now began to charge fees or close their camping facilities altogether; some municipalities encouraged private ownership of campgrounds and cabins. The Depression forced many families out of their homes and onto the road, where free camps and cheap gasoline permitted them a feeling of control over their lives; however, middle-class motorists were uncomfortable among the poor and unfortunate in the municipal camps. These tourists felt safer in controlled camps, where electric

lights and security personnel discouraged crime, and the fee kept out migrants and the impoverished.[36]

The Dixie Highway and the Growth of Indiana Roads

By the late 1910s, when the automobile became available to average citizens and not merely the wealthy, vacationing took on a new form and frequency. To escape cold Indiana winters and attend the popular auto races at Daytona Beach, some Hoosiers liked to vacation in the South. One of their new vacation destinations was Miami, developed into a resort area in the 1920s by Indianapolis entrepreneur Carl Fisher. But, before Hoosiers -- or anyone else -- could escape to Miami by car, they had to have good roads that were passable in both winter and summer. In 1914, Fisher advocated the construction of a highway connecting north and south, similar to his east-west Lincoln Highway project. His original name for the new route was the "Hoosier Land-to-Dixie Highway," later shortened to just "Dixie Highway."[37]

Promoters first conceived the Dixie Highway in 1914 as a north-south tributary to the transcontinental Lincoln Highway, still under construction at that time. The idea of an automobile road uniting north and south appealed to many travelers and businessmen in the early twentieth century, but historians credit the first concrete plans for such a route to Hoosier Motor Club president W.S. Gilbreath. According to Howard Preston in *Dirt Roads to Dixie*, Fisher let Gilbreath take the credit for the Dixie Highway, just as he let Henry Joy take credit for the Lincoln Highway. Fisher

liked to start projects but lost interest once work began. At least initially, the actual strategy and planning were Hoosier efforts carried out by Indiana politicians and businessmen. Already crossed by the Lincoln Highway and the old National Road, Indiana was bound to capture a great deal of commercial and tourist traffic with the addition of a north-south highway -- a useful boost to the state's economy. The rest of the country would benefit from the proposed highway as well. Besides making travel easier for auto tourists, a through road would enable farmers to ship produce quickly by motor truck rather than take the chance of it spoiling while waiting on a railway siding.[38]

Much like its predecessor the Lincoln Highway, the Dixie Highway was not a new road; rather, it was a new route cobbled together from a network of existing roads. Its promoters planned to make the Dixie Highway the best motor route in the country. They decided that the route was to be profusely marked with signs so that travelers would not get lost. Construction crews would improve sections where the existing roadbed was in poor condition and create a roadway where none had existed before. State and local support for the highway project was essential; federal funds were available for road improvements only as a match for state money. Local support consisted of both fund-raising and labor. Private citizens and automobile associations often had to assist official road-building crews if the work was to be finished in a reasonable period of time.[39]

Public support for the proposed highway was tremendous. Carl Fisher remarked that the Dixie Highway was easier to promote than the Lincoln Highway

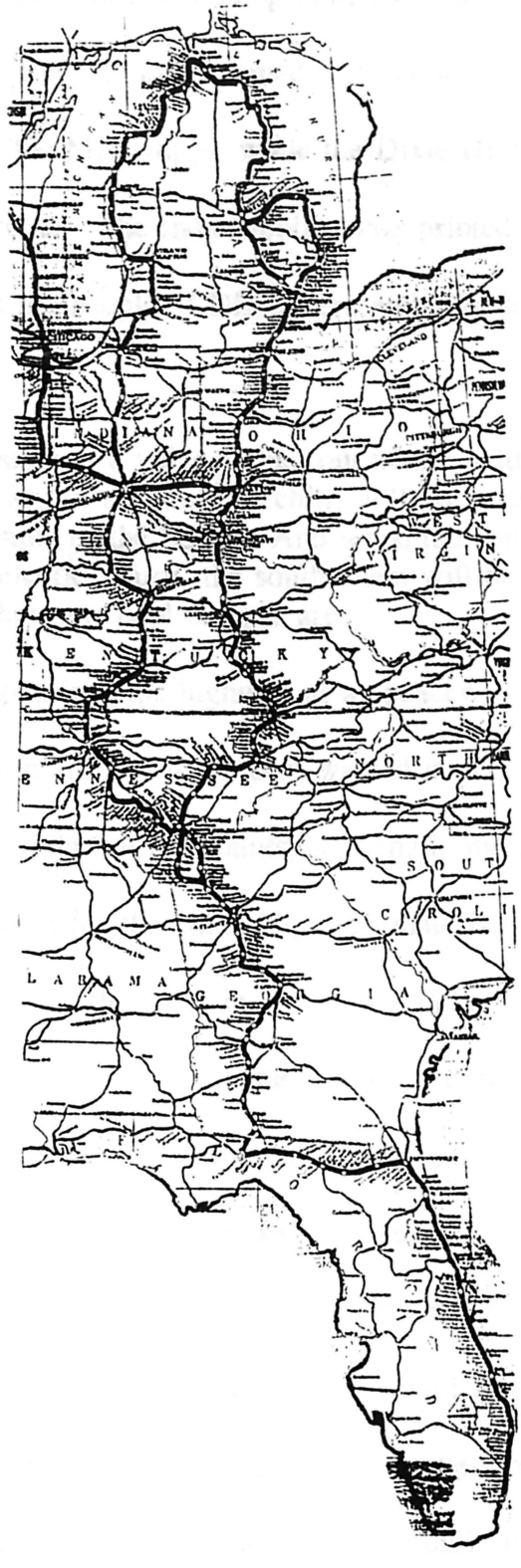

Fig. 4. The Dixie Highway as it was finalized in the fall of 1915. National Highways Association, *Map of the Dixie Highway* (Washington: National Highways Association, 1915).

because so much of the work was being done by local boosters. Perhaps it was also because the Lincoln Highway plan seemed to be conceived and executed entirely by people living east of the Mississippi, while the Dixie Highway appealed to people living all along the route. The Indianapolis *News* printed an impassioned plea for the highway, saying that the people of Dixie were enthusiastic about a link between north and south:

> To them it looms as a voice calling out of the wilderness . . . . Thousands of motorists, weary of the winter's chill, will go buzzing over the new road to seek the sunshine of the South. And when the sun beats down on the land of cotton with relentless fury, the southerners will be able to turn their motors northward where the cool breezes are.

Some supporters emphasized the highway as a "peaceway" commemorating fifty years of peace between north and south. Others wanted it to be built as straight and durable as a Roman road, a symbol of the country's strength and greatness.[40]

Financial support for the Dixie Highway materialized after W.S. Gilbreath published his proposal for the route in November 1914. At first, he referred to it as the Cotton Belt Route, for lack of a better name. Gilbreath urged the public to see America first, since the war in Europe would prevent travel abroad for years to come. Approximately twenty men from Chattanooga, Tennessee, each pledged $1,000 per year for building the highway. These "Founders" enlisted the support of governors in the states through which the proposed highway would pass. Governors of interested states and the founders of the Dixie Highway movement had held a preliminary meeting in January 1915 to form an association to build the road and plot a tentative route, but most of the real work was left until the next meeting.[41]

Dixie Highway promoters had their first official meeting at the Good Roads Conference in Chattanooga on April 3, 1915. Over 3,000 delegates attended the meeting, which was hosted by the Chattanooga Automobile Club. Governor Samuel Ralston of Indiana had invited six of his fellow governors whose states lay along the proposed route. Governors from Tennessee, Kentucky, Georgia, and Indiana attended in person, while Florida and Ohio sent spokesmen. Michigan was not yet invited to join the delegates. The festivities opened with a parade through the city of automobiles and the Eleventh U.S. Cavalry. President Woodrow Wilson, an advocate of good roads, sent a congratulatory telegram expressing his interest in the highway project.[42]

Early in the meeting, the governors decided to remove control of the project from the founders and give it to an appointed Board of Directors. Some of the founders angrily voiced their intent to withdraw financial support from the project, saying that they would not use their funds for the "political advancement of any person or party." Governor Ralston and Georgia's Governor Slaton advocated a compromise, with each of the seven governors selecting two directors, and seven other "incorporators" coming from the ranks of the original founders. Ralston chose two of his close friends as directors, Carl Fisher of Indianapolis and Senator Thomas Taggart of French Lick. The Board of Directors (excluding the incorporators) was given the right to designate the route of the Dixie Highway, with advice from three highway engineers from the U.S. Office of Public Roads.[43]

The rest of the meeting was taken up with speeches from the governors and other delegates, a telegram of commendation from New York *Times* publisher Adolph Ochs, which appeared in the paper the next day as an editorial entitled "The Dixie Peaceway," and arguments over the actual route the highway should take. The governor of Alabama asked that his state receive part of the route, but the others ruled that Alabama was not in the direct path from Lake Michigan to Biscayne Bay. Lincoln Highway official, A.R. Pardington, advised the directors that they must avoid politics at all costs. He told them, "just build this road from Chicago to Miami so direct that when it is seen stamped upon a map its logic will be so strong that it will need no explanation." Before the meeting adjourned, the directors had decided to table the matter of the exact route until May.[44]

To avoid the semblance of political maneuvering, the newly-formed Dixie Highway Road Commission called for each locality that wanted the route to file a brief. Commissioners asked for the following information: mileage in each county along the proposed route; condition of the road and type of surface; number and character of bridges; number of unbridged streams; plans for building and maintaining these roads; date the road could be ready for dedication; demographic data and information on nearby historic sites. Scenic and historic places were very important to Fisher, who saw the potential for tourism. Among the tourist attractions along the route of the Dixie Highway were: Mammoth Cave, Abraham Lincoln's home, the Civil War battlefields of Chattanooga and Chickamauga, and the ancient city of St. Augustine. All of this information had to be submitted by May 10, 1915. On May

20, the commissioners met at Chattanooga to determine the final route. Fisher wanted the route finalized quickly.* Clark Howell, the chairman of the route committee, wanted each county that desired a part of the Dixie Highway to begin building the actual roadway. The committee would then decide the best road segments and determine the route accordingly. So many influential cities wanted a part of the highway that Fisher suggested a compromise: there would be two Dixie Highways, running parallel to each other, called the Eastern and Western Divisions. The commissioners granted Indiana part of the Western Division.[45]

In many of the states through which it passed, the Dixie Highway was the only good road that connected towns. It forced the construction of roads through mountain passes in Kentucky and Tennessee, and spawned an interconnecting network of new roads in the southern states. But in the Midwest, geography and economics had not hampered road construction as they had in the South. The mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee had curtailed many road-building efforts, while Florida's vast swamps presented a far different engineering challenge. In contrast, Indiana had a well-developed network of roads already in place, even if the roadways were unpaved and in poor condition.[46]

SR 1, later to become U.S. 31, was an important north-south road that ran straight through the state. It connected the major industrial cities of South Bend,

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* Fisher's wife, Jane, insisted that her husband had no ulterior motive for promoting a road to Florida, and that he did not begin to develop Miami Beach as a tourist resort until 1919. Most other sources believe that Fisher had already planned to develop the area but needed the road to make his idea work.

Kokomo, Indianapolis, and Louisville. Perhaps it was no surprise that the first three of these were significant automobile manufacturing cities. If the purpose of the Dixie Highway was to connect the northern and southern states by the most efficient path, SR 1 seemed to be the logical choice for the proposed route. At the first governors' meeting in January 1915, the suggested route did follow SR 1 through Indiana (with a detour through Logansport), but delegates Taggart and Fisher voted against that route at a later meeting in favor of one that gave motorists easier access to Taggart's French Lick Springs Hotel. Sources do not explain why the committee accepted this longer and less-improved route, but it is possible that Governor Ralston, a close friend of both Fisher and Taggart, exercised his political influence in the decision.[47]

When the directors finally determined the route of the Dixie Highway, it followed SR 1 for only a short distance. From South Bend to Indianapolis, it traced the route of the old Michigan Road, which had the widest right-of-way, 100 feet, of any road in the state. At Rochester, it meandered south-west through Logansport, then to Indianapolis. On its way south, it took another southwesterly turn and followed the Bloomington Road, then continued through the limestone quarries of Monroe and Lawrence counties to Paoli. There, a spur ran to the resorts of French Lick and West Baden. At Paoli, the Dixie Highway took a sharp bend and continued southeast to New Albany and Louisville along the old Paoli Pike, the first road in the state to be macadamized. Figure 4 shows the route of the Dixie Highway in late 1915, before the Dixie Highway Association added the Carolina link.[48]

During the heyday of the Dixie Highway (1914-1926), other named highway projects sought to jump on its bandwagon. This flurry of activity resulted in the Hoosier-Dixie Highway, Dixie Route "A", the Dixie Bee-Line, and various other roads with "Dixie" in their names. Aviators could even follow the Dixie Air Line from Chicago to Miami. Although the original plan called for the highway to run through the midwestern states from Chicago to Miami, competition for the coveted route was intense. Rather than disappoint local politicians, the Dixie Highway Association permitted each state near the proposed route to have its own section of "Dixie Highway" or similarly-named route that connected its eastern and western divisions. The name "Dixie Highway" could signify any of these roads to the motorist not conversant with the latest "Auto Trails Map."[49]

As originally mapped in 1915, the Dixie Highway had sections that ran parallel and perpendicular to the main route in every state through which it passed. It contained 3,989 miles of roads in its eastern and western divisions, and ran through eight states. A few years later, the mileage had risen to 5,786. The Dixie Highway Association admitted Michigan late in 1915. A branch of the Dixie Highway, known as the Carolina Division, led from Knoxville to Savannah. Georgia added a route that passed through some of its Civil War battlefields. According to the Dixie Highway Association, all of these sections were officially considered the Dixie Highway. Beginning in 1924, the federal government solved some of the confusion by numbering all of the nation's highways according to a single system; east-west roads would have even numbers and north-south roads would have odd numbers. The

numbers were lowest in the east and north.* In response to pleas from readers, *Dixie Highway* magazine printed the state highway numbers of all the sections of its route in the November 1924 issue. In its western division alone, the Dixie Highway incorporated sixty-six different numbered highways along the route between Michigan and Florida.[50]

Many of the individual roads that comprised the Dixie Highway had older or other common-use names that were more familiar to local residents. Some still continue to be used today. In Indiana, the Dixie Highway included portions of several of the oldest roads in the state: the Michigan Road, Crawfordsville Road, National Road, and Paoli Pike. The craze for naming routes as "auto trails" caused even more confusion. In 1923, there were over forty named routes in Indiana. Parts of the Dixie Highway and SR 1 bore such alternate names as the Jackson Highway, Range Line, Liberty Way, National Old Trails Route, Adeway, and Ben Hur Route. When these roads had acquired still other names within a town, and all of the names were posted on street corner signposts, the unfortunate motorist could easily become confused, make a wrong turn and not discover his error until the next signpost.[51]

The Dixie Highway consisted of hundreds of overlapping named and numbered road sections. It is not surprising that motorists had varying opinions as to its exact route. From its inception in 1914 until the official federal renumbering of state highways in 1924, the Dixie Highway was one of the most conspicuous road

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* The official designation of the Dixie Highway (since 1927) includes U.S. 25; U.S. 31; U.S. 41; U.S. 27; U.S. 441; and U.S. 1 (Preston, 132).

projects in the country. Construction began in 1915 and continued throughout the 1920s. Today it is all but forgotten, at least in the North. A few sections are still known as Dixie Highway and some businesses along the route have "Dixie" in their names, but these are the only clues to the former course of the famous route. Most Indiana residents who recognize the name assume that the Dixie Highway follows the route of U.S. 31. Sections of pavement labeled "Dixie Highway" in Illinois, Kentucky, and Florida appear today as unrelated roads; in reality, they once formed a network that stretched across the eastern third of the country.[52]

The Dixie Highway in the southern states probably held its prominence longer than it did in the North because fewer improved alternative routes existed for travel within these states until the 1960s, when construction was finished on the interstate highways to Florida. The federal government further hindered development of rural roads in the South by improving only the trunk roads (U.S. routes), such as the Dixie Highway, while neglecting the secondary roads that were perhaps more important to local residents. In Florida, for example, the Dixie Highway was the only major artery connecting northern and southern parts of the state. In Kentucky and Tennessee, it was one of the few roads to cross the mountains.[53]

The Dixie Highway in Indiana never seemed to develop the pre-eminence that it did in other states, particularly Florida, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Travelers going from Michigan to Florida, for example, frequently used Indiana SR 1 in preference to the Dixie Highway through Indiana. Over time, many people began to think of SR 1 as the Dixie Highway because it had more of the characteristics of a major north-

south connecting road: more facilities, better road surface, and a more direct route. Even at the beginning of the Dixie Highway project, one reporter noted as fact, "regardless of the designation of certain roads as part of the Dixie Highway, travel will seek the shortest and most convenient route, road conditions being equal." A current U.S. Geological Survey quadrangle indicates a portion of U.S. 31 north of Kokomo, Indiana, as "Dixie Highway," although only the northernmost section (South Bend to Rochester) was ever officially designated as such.[54]

Part of the reason for the failure of the Dixie Highway in Indiana was due to the political machinations of Carl Fisher and Thomas Taggart, who were responsible for deciding its final route. By carving the highway's winding path through scenic and less-populated parts of Indiana, the two men neglected the abovementioned reporter's warning. Lists of facilities for motorists from the 1920s and 1930s and the remnants of these buildings show that the shorter and more convenient U.S. 31 captured both the through traffic and the tourist trade until the advent of I-65 and I-69 in the 1960s.

NOTES TO PART 1

1. Class notes from Urban History, Robert G. Barrows, Fall 1992; Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 5-6.

2. Rand McNally, *Official Auto Trails Map*, 1918, 1926; *Dixie Highway Magazine*, 1916-1926 contains maps in each issue. *Dixie Highway* is available in the Louisville Free Public Library, 301 York St., Louisville, KY. The Dixie Highway Association ceased to exist early in 1927 and the magazine was discontinued. See: Martha Carver, "Traveling the Dixie: The Development of the Dixie Highway Corridor," *SCA Journal* 13 (Fall-Winter 1994-95): 14.

3. *Dixie Highway* printed a monthly column called "Touring Queries" that advised motorists on the best routes between cities, whether or not they were along the Dixie Highway. Historian Glory-June Greiff perpetuates the view of U.S. 31 as the Dixie Highway in David J. Bodenhamer and Robert G. Barrows, eds. *Encyclopedia of Indianapolis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), s.v. "Roads and Highways".

4. Suzanne Hayes Fischer, "Facilities for Motorists, 1900-1940: Historic Context Study and Property Type Analysis," prepared for and on file at the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, 402 West Washington Street, Indianapolis, IN.

5. Linda Weintraut, "Losing the Business: How Hoosier Automobile Manufacturers Failed Middle America," M.A. thesis, Indiana University, 1989; Dwight W. Hoover, *Magic Middletown* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 49; John B.Rae, *The Road and the Car in American Life* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1971), 40-56. James J. Flink presents an excellent discussion of these and other factors that led the public to accept motor transportation in *America Adopts the Automobile, 1895-1910* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970) 64-142; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 39-40.

6. See: Flink, *America Adopts*, 95-8 and 105-7 for other horse-vs.-auto arguments. Automobiles were not a particularly reliable source of transportation in the first decade of the twentieth century.

7. For material on physicians and automobiles, see: Flink, *America Adopts*, 107; Flink, *The Automobile Age* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 28, 139; Frank Donovan, *Wheels for a Nation* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), 29-30.

8. See: Flink, *Automobile Age*, 152-3; Flink, *America Adopts*, 108-112; Donovan, *Wheels*, 108 for the impact of the automobile on farmers.

9. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 152-3; Flink, *America Adopts*, 108-112; Donovan, *Wheels*, 108; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 165.

10. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 143-5; Flink, *America Adopts*, 101.

11. For information on installment purchasing see: Flink, *Automobile Age*, 37-8; 189-93; Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown: A Study in American Culture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1929), 255.

12. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 40-46 discusses European vs. American methods of auto production; for Indiana statistics, see: "Indiana Ranks Motor Industry Fifth," *Hoosier Motorist* (June 1917): 38; Weintraut, *Losing the Business*, passim. Copies of *Hoosier Motorist* are available in the Indiana State Library.

13. Gary Allen Tobin, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of the Modern Tourist," *Journal of Popular Culture* 8 (Spring 1974): 840-41; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 5-6, 12; Polly Redford, *Billion-Dollar Sandbar: A Biography of Miami Beach* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1970), 91.

14. Phil Patton, *Open Road: A Celebration of the American Highway* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1986), 15.

15. Mary Bray, interview by Philip V. Scarpino and William Dalton, 1992, transcript, "Westfield Memories" Project, IUPUI Special Collections and Archives, IUPUI University Library, 815 W. Michigan, Indianapolis, IN. Hereafter cited as IUPUI Archives.

16. Glory-June Greiff, "An Overview of Transportation in Indiana: 1890-1940" (Indianapolis, 1990), historic context study prepared for and on file at the Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, 402 West Washington Street, Indianapolis, IN, 12-14. Information on the Zig-Zag Cycle Club and its members is found in Bodenhamer, *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Bicycling," by Glory-June Greiff.

17. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 15-16; John F. Due, Benjamin J. Allen, Mary R. Kihl, and Michael R. Crum, *Transportation Service to Small Rural Communities: Effects of Deregulation* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1990), 9, 41.

18. Flink, *America Adopts*, 204-209. The events of 1908 in the history of the Good Roads Movement and material on auto clubs is mentioned in Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 36-39. Information on the beginnings of the Hoosier Motor Club is found in

Bodenhamer, *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Roads and Highways," by Glory-June Greiff.

19. Greiff, "Overview," 12-14; Indiana, Executive Department, Division of Accounting and Statistics, *Yearbook of the State of Indiana* (Fort Wayne: State of Indiana, 1921), 1112. The Lafayette Free Gravel Road is shown in *Marion County Plat Book, 1891*, and *Marion County Plat Book, 1909*, both located in the Indiana State Archives, Indiana State Library, 140 North Senate Ave., Indianapolis, IN 46202. Hereafter cited as ISL.

20. Flink, *Automobile Age*, 135-7, 154-6, 171; Albert C. Rose, *Historic American Highways* (Washington: American Association of State Highway Officials, 1953), 98-9, 103-4, 108, 111, 119-20; *Year Book for the State of Indiana*, 1917, 42; Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau and Indiana Historical Society, 1968), 266; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 19-20 has a good explanation of R.F.D. Dixie Highway directors Carl Fisher and Indiana senator Thomas Taggart were both vice-presidents of the IGRA in 1912.

21. Indiana State Highway Commission, *Map of the Indiana State Highway System* (Indianapolis: Indiana State Highway Commission, 1917); Noblet, M.E. "What is the Matter with Indiana?" *Hoosier Motorist* 6 (April 1918): 9-12. "State Highway System of Indiana," (undated typescript, in Box 2, Folder 9 under "Roads"), ISL; "Brief History of the Highway Commission," (typescript, 1949, in Box 2, Folder 9 under "Roads") ISL; *Rand McNally Official 1919 Auto Trails Map (District 2)*, (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1919).

22. *Map of the Indiana State Highway System*, 1926; *Yearbook of the State of Indiana for the Year 1919*, 559; Indiana's fine gravel roads are mentioned in *Yearbook, 1923*, 1034.

23. *Hoosier Motorist* 12 (February 1924), 18-20; *Map of the Indiana State Highway System*, 1926; *Yearbook, 1919*, 559; *Yearbook, 1923*, 1034. The term "inter-state highways" refers to those state roads that are continued by different state roads in neighboring states. The highway numbers (and sometimes the road alignment) changed at the state borders.

24. Jane Fisher, *Fabulous Hoosier: A Story of American Achievement* (New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1947), 77-78.

25. *Hoosier Motorist* 9 (February 1921): 25; (June 1921): 23; Rand McNally, *Official 1926 Auto Trails Map*; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 62-3.

26. Rand McNally, *Official Auto Trails Map* 1918; Flink, *Automobile Age*, 170.

27. Rand McNally, *Official Auto Trails Map* 1918; Kenyon Co., *Map of Indiana*, 1923; Frederic L. Paxon, "The Highway Movement, 1916-1935," *American Historical Review* 51 (January 1946): 236-53.

28. Paxson, 247-48; Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Maps*, 1918, 1923, 1926, 1928.

29. Some of the details of early auto travel are discussed in Malcolm Bray, interview by Philip V. Scarpino and William Dalton, 1992, transcript, "Westfield Memories" Project, IUPUI Archives; Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), 20-39; Donovan, *Wheels*, 19-27; and John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America*, (Omaha: University of Nebraska Press, 1985), 103-114.

30. Charles Tessman, "Michigan to Florida: An Interesting Tour from North to South by Two Michigan Riders." *Motorcycling*, 22 June 1911, 29.

31. Belasco, *Americans*, 20-39; Donovan, *Wheels*, 19-27; and Jakle, *Tourist*, 103-114.

32. Greiff, "Overview," 22-3; John A. Jakle, "The American Gasoline Station, 1920 to 1970," *Journal of American Culture* (Fall 1978): 520-542; Richard G. Minnick, "The Silent Sentinel of the American Road," *Antique Automobile* (January 1964): 18-27; *Antique Automobile* (March 1964): 24-32; Preston, 137; author's field observations of the Oldenburg Garage, January 24, 1994.

33. Chester H. Liebs discusses early roadside restaurants in *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), 193-210.

34. *Yearbook*, 1925, 671; Belasco, *Americans*, 7-8.

35. "More Free Camp Sites," *Hoosier Motorist* 9 (September 1921): 26; "Richmond's Courtesy to Tourists," *Hoosier Motorist* 9 (March 1921): 30; "Baker Brothers Open Free Camp Site on Big Walnut Creek," *Hoosier Motorist* 10 (July 1922): 21.

36. Belasco, *Americans*, 71-127 gives an account of the transition from municipal camps to private camps. "That Camping Lure Calls as Spring Approaches," *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (April 1926): 5-6; Marguerite A. Salmon, "Automobile Camp Sites and the 'Gipsy' Motorist," *Dixie Highway* (July 1921): 3.

37. Phil T. Colgrove, "The Story of the Dixie Highway," *Dixie Highway* (March 1925): 2; Fisher, *Fabulous Hoosier*, 92; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 97.

38. Numerous articles in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 1915, discuss the beginnings of the Dixie Highway. Clippings from the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, *Post*, and *Times* from 1914-1916 are found in three unpaginated scrapbooks labeled "Dixie Highway" in the Louisville Free Public Library, 301 York St., Louisville, KY. Hereafter cited as "Clippings." Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 52-3 mentions Carl Fisher's role in the plan.

39. *Dixie Highway* magazine discusses plans for the proposed highway in all of its 1915 issues.

40. Indianapolis *Star*, 19 May 1915, 5; Indianapolis *News*, 27 March 1915, 15; New York *Times*, 4 April 1915, sec. II, p. 10.

41. For a brief history of the Dixie Highway see: *Dixie Highway* (March 1925): 5. Reports of the governors' meeting may be found in *Highway Journal*, (January 1915): 16; Louisville *Post*, 5 April 1915 ("Clippings"); *American Motorist* (May 1915): 275-8; New York *Times*, 3 April 1915, sec. 7, p. 4; and 4 April 1915, sec. II, p. 10.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid; Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 55-6. The "peaceway" editorial appeared in the New York *Times*, 4 April 1915, sec. III, p. 2.

45. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 56-9; *Highway Journal*, (January 1915): 16; Louisville *Post*, 5 April 1915 ("Clippings"); *Dixie Highway* (March 1925): 5; *American Motorist* (May 1915): 275-8; New York *Times*, 3 April 1915, sec. 7, p. 4; and 4 April 1915, sec. II, p. 10; see Figure 4 for route as laid out in 1915.

46. Jeffrey L. Durbin, review of *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935*, by Howard Lawrence Preston, *SCA Journal* 12 (Spring/Summer 1993): 19-22; Charles L. Edson, "The Dixie Highway," *Collier's*, 8 January 1916, 92; Mendenhall's *Road Map of Indiana*, 1901.

47. Maps of the State Highway System, 1919, 1921, 1923; *Highway Journal* (January 1915): 16; telephone interview with James Fadely, biographer of Thomas Taggart, 12 December 1994.

48. Maps of the State Highway System, 1919, 1926; Indianapolis *News*, 20 May 1915, 17; Robert N. Taylor, Jr., Errol Wayne Stevens, Mary Ann Ponder, and Paul Brockman, *Indiana: A New Historical Guide* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1989), 154.

49. Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Map*, 1918, 1923, 1926; *Dixie Highway* (September 1919): 17.

50. *Dixie Highway* (November 1924): 21; Louisville *Courier-Journal*, 30 April 1916 ("Clippings"); Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 62-3; National Highways Association, *Map of the Dixie Highway* (Washington: National Highways Association, 1915). This map is located in the Map and Geography library at the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana.

51. Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Map* 1918; Kenyon *Map of Indiana*, 1923; Durbin, "Review."

52. *Dixie Highway* magazine contains letters from readers who were unsure of the route's exact path; in addition, its own maps did not always make clear which routes were the Dixie Highway and which were just good routes. Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Maps*, 1918, 1923 shows the overlapping roads that make up the Dixie Highway's western division.

53. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 154-5; telephone interview with Karen Rasmussen, Florida resident who lived on and traveled the Dixie Highway in the 1950s and 1960s, June 1994.

54. Quote from Louisville *Post*, 29 May 1915 ("Clippings"); U.S. Geological Survey, *Galveston Quadrangle*, Indiana, 7.5 Minute Series (Washington: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1959 (photorevised 1980)). One might infer the relative importance of the Dixie Highway in Indiana and Kentucky from the number of newspaper articles about the highway from 1914-1940: according to newspaper indices, articles in the Louisville papers outnumber those in Indianapolis papers approximately 5:1.

Part 2

A Trip South

Motor touring changed dramatically between 1914, when Fisher and Galbreath first conceived the Dixie Highway, and 1934, the last year covered by this study. Automobiles became faster and more dependable, road conditions improved, and facilities for motorists sprang up like mushrooms along the roadside. Traveling grew easier. The auto tourist at the beginning of the century envisioned himself a pioneer, proud to overcome motoring hardships. Within twenty years or so, most tourists had come to concern themselves more with comfort than with adventure. Despite these changes, the steps involved in planning and taking a motor trip remained much the same throughout the twenty-year study period. Except for the shorter time it takes to drive from place to place, motorists today undergo many of the same experiences.[1]

A typical museum exhibit on early auto touring might focus on the objects used by motorists, such as maps, camping equipment, and autos. To give viewers a framework in which to understand the similarities and differences between a motor trip of the 1920s and one of their own vacations, the exhibit might tell its story through the eyes of the travelers themselves through a series of vignettes. This interpretive structure puts the artifacts in a human context where viewers can make connections more easily between objects from the past and present. The fictional Jones family traveling from South Bend to Miami along the Dixie Highway illustrates some of the adventures and misadventures of a road trip in the mid-1920s. The

family's characteristics and experiences are drawn from a combination of primary source documents and my own family's reminiscences.

The Joneses, a middle-class family (husband and wife, ten-year-old son, eight-year-old daughter, and dog Spot) from a small town in northern Indiana, own a Model "T" Ford. They purchased it for $360 in 1916 with cash that they had saved especially for that purpose. Mr. Jones, a high-school industrial arts teacher and veteran of World War I, is an enthusiastic amateur mechanic and has made several clever improvements to his auto. He is especially proud of his anti-theft device, made from a mousetrap, that sounds the horn when the steering wheel is turned. Mrs. Jones works part-time at the local Carnegie Library, where she keeps up with the latest literature on motoring and vacation destinations. Both Mr. and Mrs. Jones drive, and the family has taken several short trips around northern Indiana.

This summer, they would like to spend a month visiting Florida, having heard wonderful stories about the weather and scenery from their neighbors. Like many other northerners in the mid-1920s, the Joneses have a romanticized view of the Old South and look forward to seeing plantations, quaint villages, and enjoying traditional hospitality. They had considered driving to California, but did not relish the thought of crossing the Rockies in a Model "T" or of spending several days in harsh desert conditions with only the food, water, and fuel they could carry with them. Florida is a much friendlier vacation destination, a shorter trip over better roads, but still an adventure. Mr. Jones looks forward to roughing it in the great outdoors. Mrs. Jones is pleased at the thought of a vacation from household chores. The children are

excited about sleeping in a tent for weeks at a time.[2] (Figure 5 illustrates some of the other questions about vacations that a tourist might consider.)

A careful man, as well as an avid motorist, Mr. Jones uses several sources of information to plan his trip. He belongs to two groups that furnish assistance to auto travelers: the Hoosier State Automobile Association and the Dixie Highway Association.* Both organizations publish road maps and monthly magazines that feature tips for travelers and advice about where to find gas, food, and lodging. Rand McNally also publishes maps that cover several states and accompanying guidebooks that contain city maps, descriptions of towns, and advertisements for facilities.[3]

Dixie Highway magazine prints a monthly column called "Touring Queries" that advises the reader about current road conditions, detours, and sights to see along the route. Although the magazine is primarily for travelers on the Dixie Highway, the readers frequently ask its editors to recommend roads in other locations. During the first two years of the magazine's publication, the editors received queries from motorists in seventeen states and Canada. Mr. Jones' letter inquiring about the best route to Florida is similar to others appearing in the March issue. One writer from Alabama begins, "I am thinking of making a trip to southeast Kansas in a Ford car and would like to know. . . ." Another motorist asks, "Will you please tell me if there is an auto road between Chattanooga and Corinth, Mississippi? I know the road

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* The Dixie Highway Association dissolved in 1927 due to federal opposition to named highway projects and lack of funds to pay its staff. Martha Carver, "Driving the Dixie: The Development of the Dixie Highway Corridor" *SCA Journal* 13 (Fall-Winter 1994-95): 14.

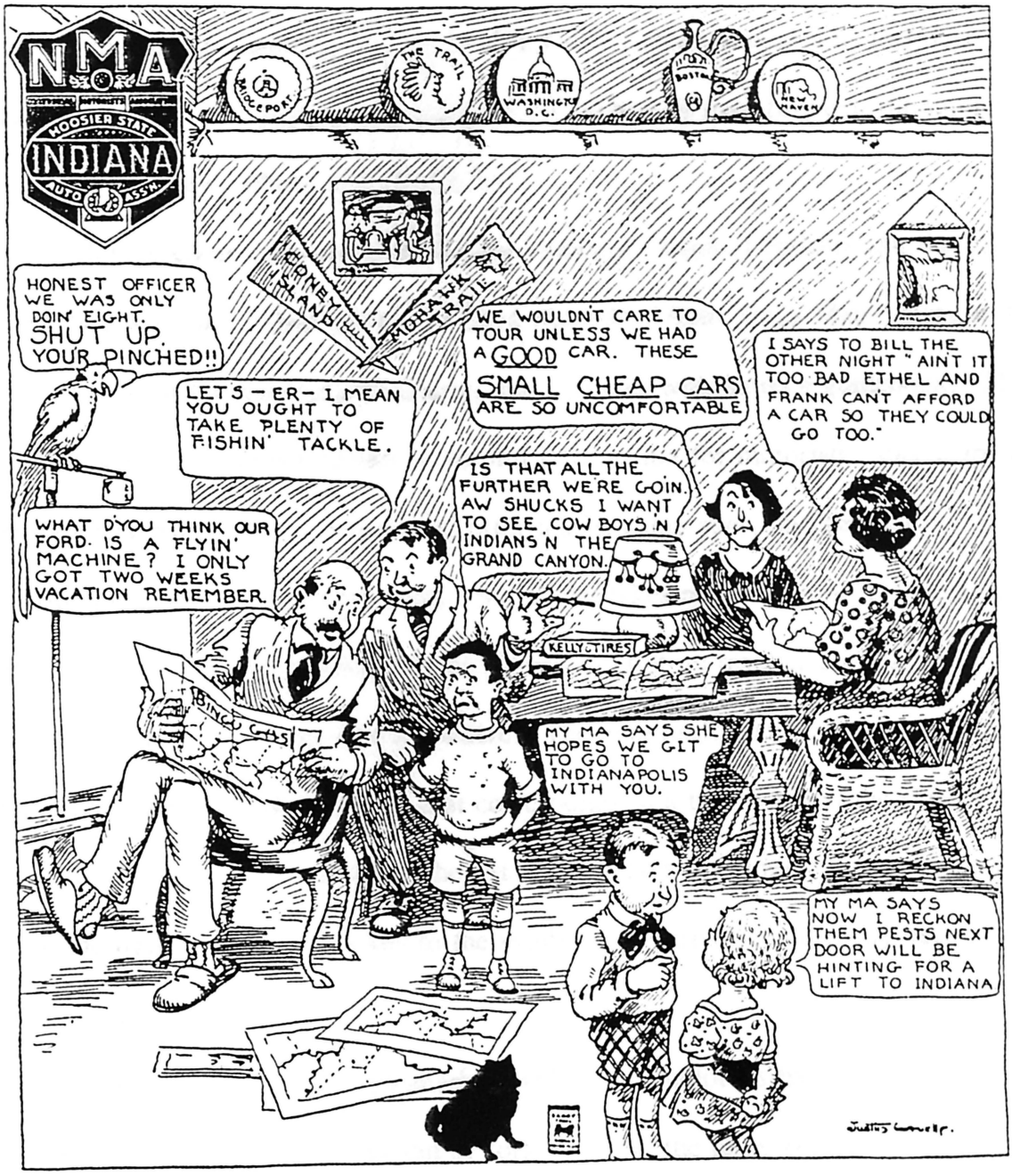


Fig. 5. "Planning the Trip." *Hoosier Motorist* 11 (July 1923): 11.

from Chattanooga via Nashville to Memphis, and it is no good unless you travel it in a flying machine." The editors advise Mr. Jones that he can use the Dixie Highway from South Bend to Indianapolis, but to follow SR 1 from Indianapolis to Louisville because of road construction and repairs on the stretch of road between Bloomington and Paoli and New Albany and French Lick.[4]

Having chosen the route, the Joneses purchase maps of Indiana and the other states they will tour. They prefer the Rand McNally "Auto Trails Map" because it delineates all of the major roads clearly, and it comes with its own guidebook. The guidebook includes an assortment of helpful information for motorists: city maps on nearly every page, a list of towns that offer tourist camp sites, and general information about Indiana state parks. Mr. Jones takes note of the official state speed limits: ten mph in the business district, fifteen in built-up residential areas, twenty in suburban areas, and twenty-five elsewhere. The map itself features over fifty marked trails, each labeled with a number that corresponds to a trail listed at the side of the map. Fortunately for the Joneses, the list also displays drawings of road markers for all of the trails. Without this key to the symbols, the driver could easily become confused as to the correct trail.[5]

Before roads were clearly marked with signs, motorists had difficulty deciding which way to turn at an intersection or fork. During the rainy periods, main roads were often indistinguishable from farm paths. Local residents had no trouble navigating roads in their area, but long-distance travelers had to depend on guidebooks for directions. Grandpa Jones swore by a rather bulky book called the

Photo-Auto Guide. This book not only gave written instructions for motoring from town to town, but illustrated its instructions with photos of potentially confusing intersections. Depending on the time of year and changes in the built environment, the photos may or may not have matched the actual scenery. Since the elaborate explanations and numerous photos took up so many pages, only the most popular routes appeared in the book. Despite its limitations, the *Photo-Auto Guide* was a vast improvement over guesswork.[6]

Mrs. Jones is confident that the family, with its generous supply of maps and guidebooks, will have no problem following the correct road south. She considers the actual driving to be less important than the sights they will see and the places they will stop along the way. She has been saving back issues of *Hoosier Motorist*, the magazine of the Hoosier State Automobile Association (HSAA). The association has been affiliated with the American Automobile Association since 1925, and its members are entitled to AAA services throughout the country. The magazine prints a monthly list of AAA-approved tourist camps, restaurants, hotels, gas stations, and garages. Mrs. Jones cuts out these lists and tucks them in her travel notebook for reference on the trip.[7]

By the time the Jones family sets out for Florida, these lists probably will be obsolete. The operation of facilities for motorists is a risky business with intense competition. Whenever one business closes its doors, another springs up in its place. The lists of gas stations mention only a fraction of the stations in the state; the lists of camp sites and garages are more extensive but not complete. Mrs. Jones tries to plan

overnight camp sites according to her estimate of miles covered per day. She looks for tourist camps in towns that fall at points along the route that the family can reasonably expect to reach each day. Amenities in the camps on the list are classified by a system of letters. Mrs. Jones looks for sites that have the codes for electric lights, kitchenettes, flush toilets, and police protection. The children plead for camps that offer amusements, swimming pools, and playgrounds.[8]

Having decided that the family will spend the nights at tourist camps rather than in hotels, Mrs. Jones turns her attention to packing the car. She decides that the family should bring a complete set of camping gear, including cooking equipment and a tent. She fits the smaller items in the storage space under the rear seat. Although many privately-owned tourist camps offer cabins, demand for these is likely to be heavy during the peak travel months of July and August. Some of the municipal camps offer cabins or shelters (with mattresses available for a small fee) but most require campers to furnish their own tents. It is possible that the family will have to camp in a farmer's field once or twice, although this practice is not as common as it was five or ten years previously.[9]

In addition to camping equipment, the auto tourist needs to pack tools and supplies for making emergency repairs. A spare tire and tool box are standard equipment for most motorists. The Joneses load into the car a set of tire chains for driving in mud or loose gravel, a tow chain in case the tire chains are not sufficient, a wheel jack, inner tube patch kit, and extra spark plugs. The Joneses are thankful that garage facilities and tourist camps are more numerous than fifteen years earlier. A

family traveling in the South in 1910 had brought brake linings, valve parts, a shovel, crowbar, mud hooks, one hundred feet of rope, five gallons of motor oil, a compass, and a gun, in addition to the supplies carried by the Joneses. In 1910, the travelers took most of their meals in restaurants and spent the nights in hotels, because roadside eating facilities and campgrounds were still scarce. The Joneses, however, plan to buy groceries and spend the nights in tourist camps. The Joneses are traveling light -- they do not need to take their own fuel or oil, for these necessities are now commonly found in all but the most isolated communities. As a final precaution, Mr. Jones has the car inspected by a professional mechanic before the trip. The Joneses hope that it will stop raining before morning. The Ford's folding top has a leak right over the driver.[10]

The last items that go into the car are provisions for the journey. Mrs. Jones hopes to save money by buying food at roadside markets and grocery shops instead of eating at restaurants. She packs a box of canned goods, predominantly beans, to supplement the fresh food. Early auto campers were called "tin-can tourists" because they often left piles of cans behind where they had camped. She has loaded an ice chest with sandwiches, cheese, oatmeal cookies, and bottles of drinking water. Water from many roadside streams is not safe to drink, and the Board of Health has condemned over one-fourth of Indiana tourist camps for having contaminated water supplies. Although the portable ice-chest could carry enough food for several days, Mrs. Jones believes that finding local produce is part of the adventure of motor touring. She does not pack any groceries that would spoil easily, such as milk or

mayonnaise; she is not certain that the chest can keep perishable food for more than a day or so, as she has never used one before. With the food, children, and Spot settled into the car, they are ready to go at last.[11]

The Joneses leave on their month-long vacation just as the sun is rising. They make the first part of the trip, from South Bend to Plymouth, on smooth, paved roads. The route is well-marked with signs. Billy, looking at the map, asks why they must leave U.S. 31 at Rochester and take the Dixie Highway to Indianapolis. U.S. 31 is paved for its entire length save for a short stretch north of Perrysburg, while the Dixie Highway is mostly a gravel road. The section from Rochester to Logansport is not even a part of the state highway system yet. Mrs. Jones agrees that U.S. 31 looks like a better road, but Mr. Jones wishes to follow the old Michigan Road -- he can never remember to call it "Dixie Highway" -- to the capital because of its historical significance.[12]

The scenery along U.S. 31 is interspersed with advertising signs, but not as many as Mr. Jones remembers from his trip five years ago. In a two-month period in 1922, almost one million of these signs were removed from the roadside by members of the Hoosier State Automobile Association and other beautification groups. In 1926, Thomas Henry, president of the American Automobile Association, called for state officials to clean up cluttered roadsides, not only to enhance the beauty of the scenery but also to make driving safer for the public. He noted that the proliferation of advertising signs in close proximity to official road signs only served to irritate and confuse the motorist. President Henry also commented that filling stations and farm

houses offering tourist rooms posted signs that deliberately imitated state warning signs. In conclusion, he said, "Surely the time has come when we must differentiate between the prominence to be given on the highways to warning and guiding information and that given to advertisements for chicken dinners or liver pills."[13]

Advertising signs are not the only things that obstruct Mr. Jones' view. Untrimmed trees and fields of corn at intersections also obscure oncoming traffic. The corn is not at its full height yet, but it still presents a hazard if planted right up to the roadside. Grandpa Jones won the gratitude of passing motorists when he planted potatoes instead of corn in a hundred-foot square of his farm that abuts a busy intersection. Mrs. Jones read an article in *Hoosier Motorist* that suggests other farmers might do the same.[14]

Mr. Jones is a law-abiding man and has been driving very carefully to avoid an encounter with the police. His Ford is properly registered, although he does not have a driver's license. He has heard that some states demand such a license, and there has been talk in the Indiana legislature about a law that would require motorists to take both a mental and physical test before the state would issue a license. Some Indiana motorists fear that the physical test would disqualify all but the completely fit. Others argue over the minimum age for drivers. Many rural residents feel that fourteen-year-olds should be permitted to drive so that they can operate farm machinery and get to school. Mr. Jones and many of his friends think that sixteen or eighteen is a more realistic age, considering the behavior of some young drivers in their town. Indiana auto owners as a whole strongly disapprove of the idea of

licensing; a *Hoosier Motorist* poll showed 89 percent of the respondents to be against the proposal.[15]

Just before Rochester, the children call out to their father to stop the car so they can take Spot for a necessary walk. Mr. Jones looks at his pocket watch. He can scarcely believe that they have been on the road for over two hours. The road surface is in fine condition, the Ford is running smoothly, and there is not a cloud in the sky. On rough gravel roads, the fifty miles would have taken nearly three hours, but it would have seemed like ten. Mr. Jones finds a comfortable place to park the car on the side of the road under a large tree. Everyone is glad to get out of the car and stretch. Mrs. Jones unpacks the cookies and a bottle of water. As they are relaxing, a flashy, yellow Pierce-Arrow roadster with Michigan license plates pulls up beside them. The passengers are a fashionably-dressed couple in their twenties. Their car is loaded with the latest in expensive touring equipment, and a bag of golf clubs protrudes from the jumble. Billy and Sally stare in wonder at the gold initials "WS" applied to the headlights.[16]

The driver doffs his plaid cap to the Joneses and asks if he and his wife might share the shade. They consent, always happy to meet fellow auto tourists. During the conversation, the Smiths remark that they are also heading for Miami. They are planning to follow U.S. 31 to Indianapolis, then take the Dixie Highway from Indianapolis to New Albany. The Joneses are taking the opposite route, the Dixie Highway to Indianapolis, then the more direct U.S. 31 to Louisville. The Smiths wish to take the waters and play golf at West Baden, so the southern portion of the

Dixie Highway is more convenient for them. Mr. Jones warns them that *Dixie Highway* magazine reports construction work and bad road conditions in that area and pulls out his collection of maps and guidebooks. Mr. Smith has only one oil-company map, saying he has no time for auto clubs and lists of things.[17]

As they examine the maps, Mr. Smith offers Mr. Jones a drink from his hip flask. Mr. Jones refuses politely. If a policeman were to notice alcohol on his breath, he could face a fine of up to $500 and 10 days to 6 months in jail. For a second offense, he might be imprisoned for 1 to 5 years. Mr. Jones suggests that his new acquaintance might empty his flask before driving on. Perhaps Mr. Smith is not aware that the transport of even the smallest amount of liquor in any vehicle is punishable by up to a $1000 fine and 1 to 2 years in jail. Mr. Smith laughs. The chances of having one's auto searched by police are very slim; his car has never once been stopped by the Michigan police. The odds are in Mr. Smith's favor; from October 1924 to October 1925, only 5 motorists were arrested in Indiana for possession of liquor, while police caught 2,264 speeders. At Mr. Jones's continued urging, Smith eventually agrees to pour out the rest of his liquor. They rejoin the women, who have been comparing notes on the best camp sites along the route.[18]

The Smiths are anxious to reach Indianapolis in time for dinner. Waving a cheerful goodbye, they speed off down the highway. Mr. Jones settles his family back into the car and cranks the engine to life. He sets off at a sedate 25 miles per hour, adhering strictly to the speed limit. Only Tennessee's speed limit of 20 m.p.h. is lower than Indiana's. Most of the other states along the Dixie Highway have limits

of 30, but Michigan's speed limit is 35. Mr. Jones hopes that Mr. Smith realizes that he must obey completely different laws now. Indiana's penalties for speeding are severe: for a first offense, a fine of up to $100; for the second, a mandatory jail or prison farm term of 60 days to 6 months. Police might set up a speed trap outside a town where the limit changes from 25 to 10 m.p.h. within a short distance. Without radar, police cannot prove how fast the speeding motorist is driving, but, since all autos do not have speedometers, the driver is not always certain of his own speed. The auto clubs help their members by publishing locations of speed traps. A motorcycle policeman in Peru resigned from the force after the HSAA posted two large warning signs near his speed trap.[19]

A few miles down the road, the Joneses see a yellow car pulled over onto the grass and a pile of luggage beside it. They slow down, thinking that the Smiths have had a breakdown. Mr. Jones is eager to show off his mechanical skills and asks if he can help. Mr. Smith replies that he has already helped by asking him to empty his flask. Just south of Rochester, the Smiths were stopped by a motorcycle policeman who searched the car for traces of illegal liquor. Not finding any contraband, the policeman contented himself with disturbing their luggage as much as possible.[20]

Indiana's policemen are notorious for their treatment of out-of-state motorists. Since the beginning of Prohibition, travelers passing through the state have been subject to searches without probable cause. One out-of-state couple was searched five times while driving through Indiana on their way to Florida. The policemen's repeated mishandling of their luggage forced them to buy all new clothing on their

arrival. Businessmen who rely on tourist spending are worried that Indiana will lose millions of dollars in revenue. Motor clubs in neighboring states warn their members to take detours around Indiana to avoid persecution.[21]

One of the main complaints of tourists is that police are not always in uniform. The state's budget pays for only thirty highway police, assisted by local police when possible. To supplement this police force, the Secretary of State issues badges and letters of commission to private citizens, who are then empowered to make arrests for motor vehicle violations. The motorist cannot be certain if the pursuing officer is actually a policeman or a highway robber. Robbery is so frequent that most drivers are afraid to stop for non-uniformed officers, who sometimes shoot at the car to make it stop. A town marshal in Crothersville was indicted in November 1925 for shooting at a car with five passengers. Fortunately, no one was hit, but the incident focused public opinion on the problem. In December 1925, misuse of power by these non-uniformed "deputies" reached such proportions that the Secretary of State recalled all badges except those worn by uniformed police. Soon, a trained, uniformed state police force begins to take over highway patrol duties.[22]

Mr. Smith is lucky that he was not arrested for speeding in Indianapolis. Graft and corruption is rampant within the police force. Motorists are frequently arrested on trumped-up charges, taken before a justice of the peace, and forced to pay a fine. Part of the fine goes to the arresting officer, who tries to make as many arrests as possible and to take his victims to the magistrate who will give the largest kickbacks (see Figure 7). Constables are reimbursed for mileage between the point of

Fig. 6. "The Majesty of the Law: Hunting Season is Never Closed." *Hoosier Motorist* 12 (January 1926): 16.

arrest and the justice's court. A constable in Indianapolis took a motorist past 5 courts to the justice in Irvington, who paid the constable approximately $9 for the 16-mile trip. This constable was indicted in 1917 for extorting a watch and diamond ring from an alleged speeder and for shooting 3 times at a car at Washington and State Streets in Indianapolis. One shot narrowly missed the driver and hit the top of the back seat. The Hoosier State Automobile Association tried to get legislation passed in the summer of 1921 to protect motorists against false arrest, but the problem remains.[23]

Mr. Smith is not discouraged by his encounter with the police. After reloading the car, he thanks the Joneses again and sets off down the road, more slowly this time. The Smiths will drive very cautiously for the rest of their trip, because on their return, they plan to carry a trunkful of illegal liquor. The Dixie Highway was nicknamed the "Alcohol Trail" in Florida on account of its easy access to the rum-runners' ports of call in lonely spots along the coast. Mr. Smith is just an amateur, bringing liquor for his own use and to sell to his friends, but many professional criminals steal cars in New York and use them to run booze throughout the South.[24]

The Joneses had been fortunate in having paved roads for the first part of their trip. Near Logansport, however, a stretch of the Michigan Road remained unimproved. The previous day's rain has turned the roadbed into a sea of mud, and the Joneses quickly find themselves up to their hubs in it. Mr. Jones takes the tire chains out of the back, secures the ends around the wheels, and lays them out in a

straight line behind the wheels. Shifting into reverse, he backs the car right onto the chains with one revolution of the wheel. After fastening the chains securely, he shifts into low gear and drives steadily through the mire.[25]

Muddy roads created a major problem for tourists in the winter of 1917. Motorists traveling between Nashville and Chattanooga were lucky to make fifty miles a day. During one week in January, at least half of the cars driving over this stretch of the Dixie Highway had to be pulled out of the mud one or more times. The editors of *Dixie Highway* magazine advised travelers to ship their cars by rail between these two points, as heavy rains had made the roads impassable.[26]

Mr. Jones is quite happy with his "tin Lizzie," although the Model "T" is the butt of many jokes. The car is inexpensive, yet durable. He is able to do almost all of his own maintenance. Mr. Jones is a great admirer of Henry Ford for making such a quality auto available to the average American. It does not have all of the luxuries of a Dusenberg or a Packard, but it is a solid, no-frills auto for solid, no-frills Americans like Mr. Jones. Ford had designed the Model "T" with rural motorists in mind. The high profile of the "T" is perfectly suited to deeply-rutted, unpaved country roads. Ford purposely raised the chassis so that it would clear the hump in the middle of the road.[27]

As the Ford suddenly sinks up to its fenders in mud, Mr. Jones notices a farmer standing nearby with a team of horses. By the smirk on the man's face, Mr. Jones guesses that the mud-hole had a little help from a shovel and a few buckets of water. This practice is not uncommon among farmers (and some townspeople) who

see an easy way to earn some extra money from motorists. The farmer and Mr. Jones spend quite some time negotiating a price for pulling the car out of the mud, using the tow chain that Mr. Jones had insisted on bringing. Mrs. Jones asks if the farmer has any work to do. He answers that he keeps quite busy, "When I'm not pulling machines out of this here mud-hole, I'm haulin' water to keep 'er moist." The family goes on its way, grumbling. Mrs. Jones notes the exact location of the mud-hole in her diary. On her return, she will write a letter to the editors of several motoring magazines, warning other tourists to avoid Farmer Floyd's property.[28]

After putting several miles between themselves and the unscrupulous Farmer Floyd, the family decides to stop for lunch. Mrs. Jones consults her list of approved cafés and restaurants. Logansport has two hotels that serve meals, a coffee shop, and a cafeteria. Since it is only the first day of the trip, they settle for eating the sandwiches in the ice chest instead of spending money for a restaurant meal.[29]

Before restaurant proprietors realized the potential for profit from motorists and began building roadside restaurants, auto travelers who did not want to carry their own food had to eat at hotels or diners. Diners and cafés got their start in the 1870s and 1880s as alternatives to hotel restaurants. Travelers and businessmen did not always have the time to sit down to a big meal, while working-class people often could not afford one. Lunch wagons provided inexpensive food and their owners could move them from place to place according to demand. Some lunch wagons expanded to serve customers at a counter inside, and many owners of these large wagons acquired a permanent site, becoming diners as we know them today.[30]

As they are looking for a suitable place to stop and spread their oilcloth, the Joneses see a sign advertising fresh farm produce. In front of a prosperous-looking farmhouse stands a wooden shelter consisting of four posts and a roof. Fresh berries, butter, eggs, and milk catch Mrs. Jones' eye. The prices are much better than in town. Selling produce to passing motorists saves the farmer the trouble of hauling it to market, and the middleman's markup is eliminated. Automobile clubs encourage motorists to buy directly from farmers, recommending farms on the back roads as having lower prices. One auto club furnishes black wooden signs with white lettering to farmers with roadside stands, to chalk in each day's prices. The motorist can see the items available and the cost without leaving the car. Mrs. Jones buys just enough milk and fruit for lunch, then asks permission to spread out their picnic by the stream at the edge of the farm. The farmer's wife consents, explaining that tourists rarely ask permission but camp or picnic on the property anyway. She knows that it is a popular camp site by the amount of debris she must pick up during the summer months. Mrs. Jones promises to clean up all traces of their meal. A farmer's daughter herself, she is sympathetic to the problems that rural property owners have with auto tourists. Careless motorists leave fires burning, destroy trees and flowers, and help themselves to fruit from the orchard. They also help spread water-borne diseases by polluting streams.[31]

Sally helps her mother open a can of beans. Rather than build a fire, she heats the can on the Ford's radiator.[32] They take the sandwiches and bottled water from the ice chest and set them on a cheerful, red and white cloth. Sally unpacks a

picnic basket containing plates, cups, and an old set of silverware. The whole family enjoys the informality of the picnic, while Mrs. Jones is pleased at the relative ease of preparation and cleanup. After the meal, she quickly wipes the dishes clean and puts the trash in a sack, to dispose of when they stop for the night. They hop back in the car and head for Logansport.

Mr. Jones notices that the gasoline gauge is nearing empty. His Ford averages fifteen to twenty miles per gallon of gas, up to twenty-five on good roads. According to his map, Logansport is only five miles away. He is confident that he can reach a filling station before running out of gas. At the top of the hill leading into town, he shifts into neutral and lets the Ford coast down to the Eel River, hoping that the momentum will carry him part of the way up the other side to a gas station. Unfortunately, the engine begins to sputter before the auto is halfway up the hill. Depending on gravity instead of a fuel pump to feed his tank, Mr. Jones lets the Ford coast back down the hill, turns around, then climbs the hill in reverse. The gas tank is now higher than the carburetor, allowing the small amount left in the tank to flow through the fuel line. Mrs. Jones and the children applaud his ingenuity as they pull up to the gas pump.[33]

This station does not have a canopy, a feature of many filling stations past and present. Some station owners think that women do not like to (or are unable to) steer through narrow spaces. Truck drivers find it difficult to maneuver around canopies with low clearances. Stations with canopies cost more to build and require more

maintenance than those without; the savings to the filling station owner is more important than possible inconvenience to a customer on a rainy day.[34]

The gas pumps are of the new visible type that permit the customer to see exactly what is flowing into his tank. Commercial dispensing pumps of the times are notoriously inaccurate. When Indiana weights and measures inspectors tested over 3,000 gasoline pumps in 1925, they found only 76.9 percent of them to be acceptably accurate. Mr. Jones prefers the visible pumps to the piston ones, not only because the visible pumps are more accurate but also because they are more likely than the piston pumps to deliver a larger amount of fuel than is shown on the gauge. Mr. Jones selects the pump that delivers the new Ethyl gas. It is supposed to increase mileage and reduce engine knock, according to a report in *Hoosier Motorist*.[35]

Before specialized filling stations appeared around 1907, most gasoline was sold in bulk at groceries, hardware stores, livery stables, and blacksmith shops, and the customer stored his own supply in drums in his carriage house or garage. Mr. Jones still keeps a small underground gasoline tank next to his garage, for his local filling station is not open as long as he would like and he thinks that the prices are too high. He strains the gas through a chamois to get rid of excess water and impurities that collect in his storage tank. Jones often goes to a bulk-oil supplier located on the outskirts of town near the railroad tracks and buys directly at wholesale cost. Crowds of motorists waiting to buy gas at bulk-oil plants create a nuisance for the wholesaler and their primitive containers full of gas increase the risk of fire or explosion. In

1925, the Indiana State Fire Marshal reported eighteen auto fires and twenty-five filling station or garage fires due to gasoline explosions.[36]

In the 1880s, a Fort Wayne man invented a pump that was soon adapted for gasoline. In 1905, a retailer installed one of these pumps in a lockable cabinet and called it a "filling station." Early gas pumps were often located right on the curb, but the traffic congestion and fire danger caused many communities to pass local ordinances requiring pumps to be set back from the street. The first stations drew gasoline from above-ground storage tanks, but underground tanks proved safer and were in common use by 1910.[37]

Mr. Jones chose this particular filling station because it looked clean and tidy. He also recognizes the oil company, Pure Oil, by the station's steeply-pitched blue tile roof. He scorned the dilapidated station across the street, with its unpaved driveway, dirty windows, and unknown brand of gasoline. Early gas stations were commonly just an office and one or more gas pumps. These stations did not have to be attractive to customers because demand for gasoline exceeded supply. Some dealers carried more than one brand of gasoline or a brand that was not widely known. Oil companies soon recognized the benefits of owning or leasing filling stations that carried only the company's brand. The first chain of 34 Standard Oil gas stations appeared in 1914, and the idea caught on so quickly that by 1920 there were about 15,000 stations in operation nationwide. Some of these stations were owned by oil companies and operated as franchises, but others were privately-owned.[38]

With so many competing oil companies, consumer recognition and brand loyalty became an important sales factor. But in the 1920s, competition among oil companies became fiercer, and at the same time, communities began to pass zoning laws that were unfavorable to gas stations. Oil companies responded to the first threat by establishing corporate identity through logos, colors, and expanded service. Companies tried to solve the second problem by making their gas stations as attractive as possible; patterning them after classical temples, colonial homes, or other exotic architecture.[39]

Pure Oil designed stations of the type that Mr. Jones selects to look like a whitewashed English cottage. This station represents the domestic style of filling station that designers thought would give the public a sense of comfort and tradition, as well as an architectural style that would fit discreetly into suburban neighborhoods. The steeply-pitched blue tile roof is the main distinguishing feature of Pure's station and can be recognized instantly by passing motorists (Phillips Oil also built cottage-style stations, but they had chimneys in the center, rather than at the ends of the building, and had an orange-green-blue color scheme.) This style of architecture does not last long; more functional and streamlined buildings will appear in the 1930s.[40]

The cottage-style station is as important for its psychological implications as for its architecture. In a time when machines and technology are making life move faster, the cottage station gives the speeding motorist a sense of nostalgia. Pure stations usually have window boxes full of flowers as part of their calculated "homey" atmosphere. The English cottage is also associated in many minds with cleanliness,

kindness, and honesty; motorists are more inclined to stop at a gas station where they feel safe and comfortable. Mrs. Jones knows that the rest rooms will be clean. The Pure Oil cottage and its blue-and-white color scheme also gives the Joneses a feeling of security about the quality of Pure products and services when they are away from home. Having availed themselves of the facilities and filled the tank, the Joneses are on the road again and ready to find a campsite for the night.

The Joneses choose to stay in a free camp in River Park in the Broad Ripple area of Indianapolis. The park has wells and picnic tables but offers no other amenities for campers. One section of the park features amusements for a small fee, but these appear to be used more frequently by local residents than by transients. The family does not mind the lack of modern conveniences for one night, for the picturesque river and three acres of woods provide a pleasant spot to make camp. They plan to leave River Park early in the morning and spend most of the day visiting Indianapolis before continuing south.[41]

The camp is quiet that evening. River Park can accomodate a large number of campers, but the Joneses have selected a secluded spot so that they might rest undisturbed. The children are tired and go to bed early. Mr. and Mrs. Jones sit on the riverbank for a while and enjoy the moonlight and sounds of insects and bullfrogs. Mr. Jones prefers uncrowded camps with few amenities so that he can feel like a rugged outdoorsman. His wife and children favor camps with modern sanitary facilities and amusements. They compromise by choosing simple camps like River Park at least twice a week.

By eight o'clock in the morning, the Joneses have finished a breakfast of bacon and eggs, washed the dishes, and packed the camping gear into the Ford. They set out for Indianapolis, about one-half hour away. The children are excited about seeing the big city. Mrs. Jones wants to shop at L.S. Ayres. Mr. Jones is interested in the city's architecture. As they drive south on Meridian Street towards town, they can see the State Capitol and the English Theater rising above the other buildings.[42]

Since the Joneses plan to spend several hours exploring Indianapolis, they decide to leave the Ford in a parking garage instead of a space on the street. They choose the new Indiana Parking Garage on East Market Street because it is close to the center of town. The newly-built Test Building on the Circle contains a parking garage, but it is full of cars belonging to downtown office workers. After leaving the car and Spot in the care of an attendant, they walk to the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Mrs. Jones tries to take a photo of it with her box camera, but the heavy traffic and parked cars all around the Circle spoil the shot. From the Monument, the Joneses walk north to the plaza where construction on the Indiana War Memorial has recently begun. The site was dedicated in November 1919 with a stone from a bridge over the River Marne, a gift from France. Mr. Jones had fought in the Battle of the Marne and thinks that he passed over that very bridge. He pauses by the stone and offers a moment of silence for his fallen comrades.[43]

From the plaza, the Joneses stroll past some other interesting structures on their way to L.S. Ayres. Since the war, several new office and retail buildings have appeared on or near the Circle, giving evidence of a booming economy. Mrs. Jones

dreams of spending her husband's entire paycheck at Rink's, Block's, or one of the other large Indianapolis department stores. She settles for an hour or so of window shopping at the more expensive stores, and in a sale rack at Rink's, she finds a pretty scarf to wear around her motoring hat. The whole family exclaims over the variety of luxury goods available in these stores compared to the selection in the corner shop at home. After luncheon in Ayres' elegant fifth-floor tea room, Mr. Jones treats the family to ice cream in the basement soda fountain. The children find it difficult to choose from the 125 varieties of sodas.[44]

When the parking garage attendant brings the Ford around, Mr. Jones notes with embarrassment its thick coating of accumulated dust and dried mud from the trip. The car looks shabby next to the shiny machines parked around it. Mr. Jones is determined to have a clean car for the next stage of the trip. The garage attendant recommends an auto laundry on Illinois Street. The Joneses watch in amazement as eight men perform a task that normally takes Mr. Jones the better part of a Saturday. First, one man loosens dust and dirt with a compressed-air blower, then another man sprays the car with water to remove the mud. The car moves through the auto laundry from Blowing Rack to Soak Rack as if it were on an assembly line. In the third position, four men, one at each wheel, sponge off the rest of the dirt and dry the car with chamois. Lastly, three more men polish the Ford's interior and exterior. Satisfied, Mr Jones hands over his dollar. He loads the family into the car and heads out of town.[45]

For the second night of their trip, Mr. and Mrs. Jones want to stay in a camp with all the conveniences. As the rest of the afternoon passes, Mrs. Jones examines the latest list of HSAA-approved tourist camps. She is glad that they decided to take U.S. 31 south from Indianapolis instead of the Dixie Highway. Only one free campsite is listed for the entire portion of the Dixie Highway south of Rochester. The HSAA lists five free camps on U.S. 31. Camps that charge a fee are also more prevalent on U.S. 31 than the Dixie Highway. If Mrs. Jones were not so adamant about selecting an HSAA-approved camp, she would have several more choices along the south portion of the Dixie Highway, in Bloomington and Bedford, for example. The Dixie Highway Association understands the need for tourist camps along the route, both for tourists' convenience and for good public relations with sponsoring communities. Most municipal camps and some private ones are located on main highways to attract passing motorists. Others, usually privately-owned, are found on rivers or lakes in rural areas. Tourists use these as a final destination or for longer stays than the camps on main roads.[46]

The camp that appeals to Mrs. Jones for tonight's stay is a private camp in Franklin, called "Bell Tourist Camp." It is conveniently located on U.S. 31, one mile south of town. It appears to offer more amenities than most camps: kitchenettes, police protection, a playground, and electric lights; but the listing does not mention the presence of toilets. Mrs. Jones hopes that this was merely an oversight. When she took her first camping trip before the war, she did not mind "roughing it," but now she has grown accustomed to more comfortable vacations.

Shortly after he bought the Ford, Mr. Jones installed a folding bed and tent combination that he saw advertised in a magazine. This apparatus was designed to fit on a car's running board, and when closed, rests snugly against the side of the vehicle. Open, it uses the running board to support one end, while the other rests on fold-out legs. The tent, poles, and bedding fit into the space between the bed and the car body.[47]

The first auto campers usually spent the night along the roadside. By the 1920s, most campers want to stay in organized campgrounds where they would feel safer among other people and have basic amenities such as water and toilets. Often, the local Kiwanis or Rotary Clubs operate municipal camps, thinking that the influx of tourists is good for business. By 1926, Indiana has 233 auto campgrounds, many in municipal parks. *Hoosier Motorist* publishes lists of these campgrounds, noting facilities available and often giving directions to the site. Sometimes, owners of gas stations locate their businesses near an autocamp so they have a ready supply of customers.[48]

By the time the Joneses make their trip, municipal camps are giving way to private camps that screen their clients more carefully, which charge a fee, and provide more amenities. Municipalities, not wanting to remain in the camp business, allow their facilities to deteriorate. When the Indiana State Board of Health examined 116 municipal camps in 1923, it found that 27 percent have unacceptable drinking water and only 50 percent had adequate sewage and garbage removal. The camps approved by the HSAA have also been approved by the Board of Health, an important

factor in Mrs. Jones' decision-making. In 1926, the Board of Health considers only 28 percent of Indiana's municipal camps acceptable but finds that 61 percent of the private camps meet its standards. By the 1930s, almost all tourist camps will be privately owned.[49]

Although most campers sleep in tents and provide their own equipment, some tourists prefer to sleep in a cabin on a real bed. Some enterprising owners of campgrounds build tiny cabins, charging a higher fee for their use and additional fees for bed linens. Cabins catch on quickly as families realize the benefits of traveling without a lot of equipment and the associated drudgery of setting up and taking down camp. Cabin camping is still informal compared to hotel stays, but it provides more comforts for the traveler. The Bell Tourist Camp is a medium-to-large facility, but only offers seven rooms; tent camping space is abundant. Eventually, many cabin camp owners will eliminate tent camping altogether, creating the first motels.[50]

The Jones family decides to spend an extra day at the Bell Tourist Camp because it is such a pleasant spot and the tourists in the neighboring campsites are quite friendly. Billy and Sally have made friends with some of the other children and are making the most of the playground and amusements. They roamed through the camp, exclaiming at some of the windshield stickers and inscriptions painted on tourists' cars: "This car is driven from the front left seat only"; "If you can read this sign you are too damn close"; and "Excuse our dust." Billy's favorite was, "4 wheels, no brakes, In God We Trust." Everyone was thrilled to see an aeroplane land at the camp's airstrip at sunset. Although the HSAA list had mentioned landing

facilities, no one had actually expected to see an aeroplane at the camp; its arrival was the high point of the trip so far.[51]

Mrs. Jones is quite interested in the tent on the next campsite. The owners invite her to examine it, explaining that the manufacturer is located in Indianapolis. They are very proud of their vacation home. They have owned it for six years and are still pleased to show off its features. The "Cozy Camp-Mobile" consists of a two-wheeled trailer that folds out to form two bunks and a floor. The trailer also contains a collapsible table, gasoline stove with two burners, an ice chest, two storage drawers, and three shelves that the camper may insert when the camp is set up. Mrs. Jones admires the way that so much equipment is packed into such a compact space. Each campsite she sees is different. The family across from the Joneses has a simple wall tent with two folding cots. (See Figure 7.) Some tourists have complete camping outfits such as the Cozy Camp-Mobile. An increasingly popular tent is the umbrella tent. It is ideal for auto tourists who want to set up and take down a camp in a short time. Mrs. Jones watches as two women stake out the four corners of the tent, erect the center pole, and slip its four umbrella-like ribs into holes in the corners of the roof. The whole process takes less than ten minutes. The latest innovation is an umbrella tent with four corner poles. It takes longer to set up, but eliminates the annoying center pole.[52]

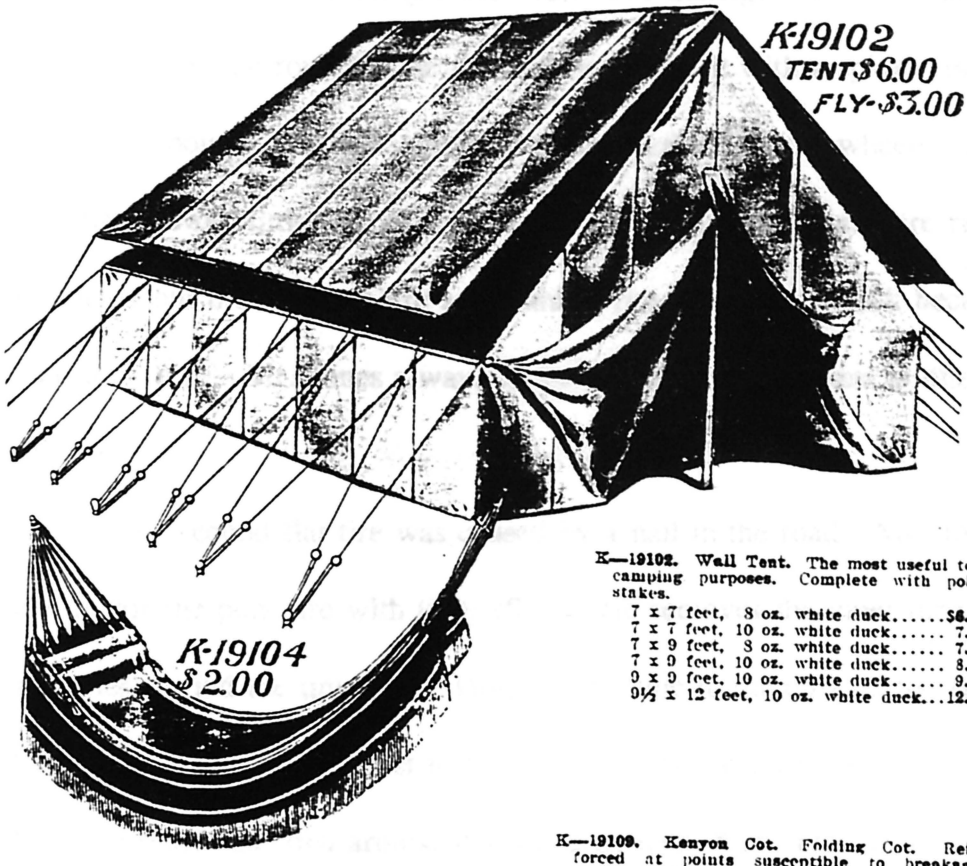
As Mrs. Jones is preparing lunch, a strange-looking vehicle pulls up. It resembles a Ford in front, but is almost completely enclosed in a box. The passengers, a Wisconsin couple, have a complete home on wheels. They designed it

for a ten-month trip on the occasion of their twenty-fifth anniversary in 1917, and have been using it for summer trips ever since. They call it a "Fordalow," a bungalow made out of a Ford. The body is made of basswood and painted canvas mounted on a Model "T" chassis that its builder lengthened thirty inches. The Fordalow is furnished with a couch that converts to a bed, a folding table, stove, lavatory, and writing desk/cabinet/sewing table combination. The couple completes the illusion of a bungalow with curtains at its glass windows, decorative pillows, and an antique rocking chair. As she drops off to sleep that night in the Handy-Camp cot, Mrs. Jones wonders if her husband can be persuaded to build such a comfortable camping apparatus for their next trip.[53]

Billy and Sally wake up early the next morning, boisterous and eager to be on the road again. Before they reached Columbus, they had exhausted their repertoire of motoring songs. Mr. and Mrs. Jones suffered in silence through off-key renditions of "In My Merry Oldsmobile" and "The Little Ford Rambled Right Along." As the left front tire suddenly began to thump, the children broke into the chorus of their favorite song:

> He'd have to get under
> Get out and get under
> To fix his automobile.[54]

Mechanical breakdowns and flat tires are an expected part of every motoring vacation. After leaving the Bell Tourist Camp, Mr. Jones changed two of the tires in a day and a half of driving. The first tire went flat after several hours of driving on a road with deep ruts. The sharp stones and rough edges of the rut abraded the weaker



K—19102. **Wall Tent.** The most useful tent for camping purposes. Complete with pole and stakes.

7 x 7 feet, 8 oz. white duck	$6.00
7 x 7 feet, 10 oz. white duck	7.00
7 x 9 feet, 8 oz. white duck	7.00
7 x 9 feet, 10 oz. white duck	8.00
9 x 9 feet, 10 oz. white duck	9.50
9½ x 12 feet, 10 oz. white duck	12.00

K—19104. **Hammock.** Very attractive and woven entirely of canvas. Large, comfortable throw-back pillow. Various stripes add to its beauty and a pretty valance edged with fringe at sides gives it a fancy finish. Concealed head spreader. Three extra supporting cords. Strong and durable. Size, 36 x 86 inches. $2.00.

K—19109. **Kenyon Cot.** Folding Cot. Reinforced at points susceptible to breakage. Stands firmly on the floor. The frame is rock elm, air-dried and stained. Folds into a compact bundle with canvas strap as handle. Easy to carry. Just the thing for the camper. 28 inches by 6 feet 6 inches. $3.00.

K—19109-a. **Kenyon Cot No. 29.** Well made. Light in weight. Especially recommended for light service. Folds less compactly than K—19109. Splendid value. $1.50.

K—19005. **Folding Camp Stool.** Suitable for any use. Very light and durable. Hardwood frame. Carpet seat. Several of these could easily be tucked away in the outing luggage, and would be thoroughly appreciated when needed. Very special. 50c.

Fig. 7. Advertisement for camping tents and cots. *Gimbel's Illustrated 1915 Fashion Catalog* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1994), 191.

sidewalls of the tire, causing a blowout. The damage was too extensive for Mr. Jones to repair en route, so he and Billy replaced it with a spare. Before the trip, Mr. Jones bought four new tires and mounted them on the wheels. He took an old tire that showed little sign of wear and strapped it to the spare tire rack. Some motorists put their newest tire and shiniest rim in the spare rack because it makes the auto look nice. Mr. Jones always keeps an old tire as a spare to discourage tire thieves.[55]

The second flat tire was caused by a nail in the road. Mr. Jones thinks that he can repair the puncture with little effort. He removes the inner tube from the casing and tries to find the tiny hole. Holding the tube in the dust on the side of the road, he watches for a puff of dust to be kicked up by the escaping air. Having found the hole, he scuffs the area around it with sandpaper, then cements a patch on the tube. Normally, he would vulcanize the repair with a hot iron, but he did not bring the equipment along. Since the cement must dry for a longer time than the Joneses wish to spend sitting by the roadside, he uses a new inner tube from a supply he has packed carefully in a soft bag. On a trip of this length, Mr. Jones expects to use at least a dozen inner tubes. He does not want to run short before he gets to Florida, so he must repair as many damaged ones as possible, rather than throw them away. He uses a hand pump to inflate the new tube.[56]

Feeling tired and thirsty from his efforts to repair the tire, Mr. Jones suggests that they stop at an outdoor food stand for hot dogs and cold drinks. The children shout their assent; Mrs. Jones thinks that roadside food stands are unsanitary but will

make an exception in this case. She is pleasantly surprised to find that the drinks are served in disposable paper cups instead of glass tumblers. The barbecue grill is enclosed in a glass and wood building to protect it from flies. She enjoys the food almost as much as do the children, but prefers not to think about the ingredients in the hot dogs or soda pop.[57]

After many adventures on the Dixie Highway passing through Kentucky, Tennessee, and Georgia, the Joneses arrive in Miami. They are completely exhausted. They have seen natural wonders such as Lookout Mountain and Mammoth Cave. They have visited historic sites, including Lincoln's birthplace and Chickamauga Battlefield. With the exception of Farmer Floyd, the mud-hole extortionist, most of the people they met were friendly and helpful. The children have occupied themselves by keeping a list of all of the out-of-state license plates they have seen. Over half of the country is represented. Mr. Jones proudly remarks that nearly half of all the autos they encountered in tourist camps were Fords.[58]

Miami Beach is packed with tourists. Even in the summer, there is not a single hotel room available. Most of the tourist camps are completely full. The Joneses are lucky on their eighth try; a large touring party of ten cars is just leaving one of the nicest camps, right on the Dixie Highway. Mr. Jones pulls into a choice site with a good view of the ocean. The children immediately grab Spot's leash and run off to explore the camp. After the adults have pitched the tent and settled in for the evening, another car pulls into the campsite next door. It is a flashy yellow

roadster, piled high with camping and sporting equipment. The weary Smiths hop out of the car and greet the Joneses like long-lost friends.[59]

The Joneses offer the Smiths some lemonade and help them set up their camp. Later, they sit around the campfire and share stories of their travels. Mr. Jones is especially interested in hearing about the Indiana portion of the Smiths' trip. The Joneses wish to take the alternate route home, but only if the Smiths give a favorable report on road conditions and facilities.

Over a week earlier, the Smiths and Joneses had met near Rochester, Indiana, where the Dixie Highway and U.S. 31 diverge. After they parted company, the Smiths continued straight down U.S. 31 to Indianapolis. The road was paved for almost the entire distance, and they could have made good time to Indianapolis, had they not been stopped three times by policemen on account of their Michigan license plates. They stayed the first night in a tourist home in Westfield, right on U.S. 31. They saw signs advertising "Rooms for Tourists" in several towns along the route, as well as in front of a few farmhouses. The room was not as luxurious as Mrs. Smith wished, but it was clean. She admits that she preferred the hotel at West Baden.[60]

The second stage of the Smith's trip had not been as pleasant. Mr. Smith's brand-new spare tire was stolen from its rack while he was at a chicken-dinner restaurant in Indianapolis. Road construction forced them to detour onto SR 12 (now SR 67) between Indianapolis and Martinsville. The Dixie Highway was also closed for construction between Oolitic and Bedford and between Palmyra and the Floyd County line. Mr. Smith's roadster did not handle the rough and muddy roads as well

as Mr. Jones' Ford might have; the Pierce-Arrow was built for speed, not utility. The Smiths' auto had nine flat tires, a broken axle, and a punctured radiator during the ten-day trip.[61]

Mr. Smith found that repair garages and filling stations were not plentiful on the southern Indiana portion of the Dixie Highway. He had expected to find the same types of gas, food, and lodging as he had seen on U.S. 31 from South Bend to Indianapolis. Instead, he had to buy his gasoline at general stores and have his repairs made at blacksmith shops or nearby farms. The farmer who fixed his punctured radiator did not have soldering equipment, so he dipped a rag in cement and pulled it through the damaged cell. As the cement dried, it plugged the leak.[62]

Mrs. Smith and Mrs. Jones compare notes on the filling stations, tourist camps, and restaurants they encountered on the trip. Mrs. Smith complains about the dirty rest rooms at some of the independent filling stations between Bloomington and New Albany. One station was too small to have its own rest room but boasted a privy in the back. Mrs. Jones explains that she would stop only at filling stations that were on the "approved" lists from their motor clubs, so she would be assured of clean facilities.[63]

Mrs. Smith vows never to set foot in another chicken-dinner restaurant. Chicken dinners are inexpensive to prepare and these meals are popular with motorists, so this type of restaurant is prevalent along the roadside. The Smiths often stopped at tea rooms for lunch, but these served only light snacks and were not usually open for supper. Mrs. Jones thinks that tea rooms are very nice for ladies,

but not at all suitable for her hollow-legged husband. He prefers hearty meals of beans, steak, potatoes, and bacon and eggs. Luckily for his wife, these are the easiest foods to prepare over a campfire. Mrs. Jones considers her camp cooking to be more nutritious than bland hotel or restaurant meals, since she combines fresh fruits and vegetables from local produce stands with traditional campers' fare.[64]

Mr. and Mrs. Smith did not have a pleasant trip. They were unprepared for the road construction and detours along the route. Mrs. Smith expected roadside facilities to be the same as at home. They had frequent arguments over where to stay, where to eat, how to drive. Mr. Smith's lack of mechanical skill made him easy prey for rascally repairmen. Since neither of them were members of an auto club, they did not have access to maps, guidebooks, or road service. Mr. Smith got lost frequently and would not stop to ask directions. Mrs. Smith has declared that she will seek a divorce if her husband ever mentions going on another auto trip. Mr. Smith's encounters with the law convinced him to give up the idea of bootlegging liquor. He has heard that there is a lot of money in Florida land speculation . . . .

The Joneses had a wonderful time. Their careful preparations had paid off; they had few surprises en route. They quickly developed a routine for setting up and taking down their camp. Mr. Jones was able to handle all of the mechanical breakdowns with the help of his auto owners' manual and the equipment he had taken along. The Joneses had avoided the police in Indiana by knowing the speed limits and local laws in each town. The Ford did not attract the attention of the police in other states as did Mr. Smith's bright and sporty car. The Joneses plan to try another

trip next summer, perhaps to California. After comparing routes with the Smiths, Mr. and Mrs. Jones decide that they will not take the Dixie Highway through Indiana on their return trip, but will keep to U.S. 31 after crossing the Ohio River.

The Joneses did travel to California the following summer but decided that the trip was too rigorous. They limited their subsequent vacations to destinations east of the Mississippi. Florida remained their favorite holiday spot and they continued to make the trip every few years. On each vacation, the Joneses noticed more and more changes in accomodations, automotive services, and dining facilities.

On their vacation in 1930, the Joneses found more inexpensive roadside restaurants with a greater variety of food. They did not need to carry provisions or buy produce from farmers, although they did purchase fresh fruit occasionally. The children had discovered hamburger sandwiches and would eat them as often as their parents would allow. They stopped at White Castle stands in the North and Krystal or Royal Castle stands in the South.[65]

Most of these early chain restaurants were located in cities, as were the three early White Castle restaurants in Indianapolis. Motorists traveling in rural areas throughout the 1920s still brought picnic lunches or stopped in towns to eat. Frequently, a tourist camp would offer a restaurant on the premises. During the 1920s, restaurant owners began catering to motorists on the outskirts of town and in rural areas (but only on main highways and usually at major intersections). Restaurant chains began to develop along the roadside as owners realized that motorists wanted places to eat that would not take them too far from the road and

their vehicles. Many early roadside restaurants that were not affiliated with chains fell into disuse because of poor construction, lack of business, or because they could not meet sanitary regulations. Unfortunately for these independent cafés and diners, motorists frequently preferred chain restaurants because they could rely on a predictable standard of food and cleanliness. Of all the chains, Mrs. Jones preferred A&W, as she had developed a liking for root beer floats. In 1924, A&W Root Beer opened one of the first "drive-ins" and had expanded its operation to most of the Midwest by the 1930s. Howard Johnson capitalized on the automobile market by locating his buildings where they would be most visible to motorists: at major intersections and on curves. He built his first restaurant/ice cream stand in 1935, began to sell franchises, and by 1940 had over 130 restaurants.[66]

On their trip in 1930, the Joneses stayed in cabins instead of a tent. Most of the cabins were small and had room for just two single beds and a washbasin, so the Joneses had the extra expense of an additional cabin for the children. After the decline of camps in the late 1920s, tourist cabins became the most popular form of overnight accommodation. Cabins provided only the most basic amenities; some did not even have beds. Sanitary facilities were usually located in a separate building, just as in a campground. In rural areas, cabins could be widely spaced for privacy and aesthetic effect, but in urban areas, high property values necessitated a tighter arrangement of cabins, eventually turning into the L- or U-shaped "cabin court," "motor court," and finally, "motel." Cabins added more and more amenities through the 1930s: bathrooms, comfortable beds, soap, and linens. By the 1940s, there was

little to distinguish the features of a "cabin court" or "motor court" from a hotel room except for convenience, privacy, and affordability.[67]

When the Joneses made the trip again in 1935, they had a new car, still a Ford, but the new Model "A." Despite the Depression, there were more and more other tourists on the road. They stayed at motor courts instead of cabins. The new courts had separate bedrooms and bathrooms, carpet instead of linoleum, and more comfortable beds. There were new sights to see along the road, too. Mrs. Jones enjoyed the poetry of "Burma-Shave" signs, spaced along the road to give the viewer a bit of suspense. Her favorite was: HE HAD THE RING / HE HAD THE FLAT / BUT SHE FELT HIS CHIN / AND THAT / WAS THAT. In Kentucky and Tennessee, signs painted on roadside barns urged travelers to "CHEW MAIL POUCH" and to "SEE ROCK CITY" and other natural and man-made wonders.[68]

By the time Billy went off to war in 1942, the family was accustomed to sleeping in nice motels with attached coffee shops. They stopped for lunch in shiny chrome diners. Gas stations were sleek and modern. During the economic crunch of the 1930s, the architecture of gas stations lost most of its decorative character. Depression-era stations were stripped down to simple, functional boxes, often with expanded service bays and more room for parts and accessories. Exteriors were stucco, brick, or terra-cotta, with larger expanses of plate glass framed in steel or aluminum. Corporate identity appeared mainly in signs and colors painted over the standard white exterior, and sometimes in simple architectural modifications to the

basic box. Porcelain enamel over steel became a favorite sheathing material because it was easy to maintain and gave the impression of cleanliness and efficiency.[69]

The Joneses continued to take motoring vacations to Florida until they retired to Fort Lauderdale in 1965. They followed the same route each time: U.S. 31 to Louisville, then the Dixie Highway to Miami. When they made a trip north to visit their grandchildren in 1970, they drove on the new interstate highways for the first time. They liked making the trip in two days instead of ten, but they missed the familiar sights and old-fashioned hospitality along the old road.[70]

On their last trip, they stayed at motels and ate at restaurants that were nationwide chains. The only signs of independent diners or motor courts were in places where the old road intersected the new freeways. Motorists had enjoyed more interaction with local residents while driving the old highway, stopping at farms for produce and tourist rooms or for chenille bedspreads and handmade quilts. The new freeways limited access not only to secondary roads but also to the people who lived along them. It would be difficult for the Joneses to tell that they were traveling through different regions if not for the scenery. The restaurants and motels along the freeway bore the same names, had identical architecture, and served the same food. Freeway interchanges in every state sprouted the same facilities. Cultural distinctions between regions had blurred. One of the original goals of the Dixie Highway was to "erase the Mason-Dixon Line by the rubber tires of automobiles touring North and South." Visually, at least, that objective became a reality with the construction of the interstate systems.[71]

In years to come, the Joneses will reminisce about their vacations and tell their grandchildren that they drove to Florida on the famous Dixie Highway, the first improved route that connected Michigan with Florida. They will have forgotten that they traveled most of the way through Indiana on U.S. 31. After all, they took the best road South, didn't they?

NOTES TO PART 2

1. Mrs. Gino Ratti, "The Alluring Road," *Hoosier Motorist* 13 (May 1925): 5-13, provided the inspiration and some of the background details for the narrative.

2. The cost of a Model "T" touring car in 1916 is found in Flink, *Automobile Age*, 37. Various anti-theft devices are described in Popular Mechanics, *Automobile Owner's Handbook No. 1* (Chicago: Popular Mechanics Press, 1924): 35-6. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 110-112, discusses reasons for touring the South.

3. *Hoosier Motorist* and *Dixie Highway* contain touring information in every issue. Rand McNally's *Official Auto Trails Map* and guidebooks (1918 through 1928) are valuable sources for touring information.

4. These letters were printed in *Dixie Highway* (November 1917): 9; and (July 1917): 15. The editors' advice to Mr. Jones is taken from a reply to a letter in *Dixie Highway* (November 1917): 9.

5. Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Map*, 1918; 1923; 1924; 1925; 1926 and the corresponding guidebooks for these years.

6. Gardner S. Chapin, *Photo-Auto Guide* (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1907).

7. The Hoosier State Automobile Association was incorporated by the Hoosier Motor Club in 1914 to serve motorists throughout the state of Indiana. The Hoosier Motor Club provided the same services, but only in Marion County. M.E. Noblet, "Looking into the Coming Year," *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (January 1926): 12. *Hoosier Motorist*, 1917-1928 includes these lists of facilities in each issue.

8. Ibid.

9. Belasco, *Americans*, passim; *Hoosier Motorist*, lists of facilities in issues 1917-1930.

10. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 104-7 describes the 1910 traveler's equipment; "A Tip to Tourists," *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (June 1926): 5; "How to Go Auto Touring," *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (July 1926): 20 discuss preparations for a trip.

11. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 122; Frank E. Brimmer, "Autocamping--the Fastest-Growing Sport," *Outlook* 137 (16 July 1924): 437-40; Belasco, *Americans*, 76; *Yearbook*, 1925, 5489; Elton Jessup, "The Flight of the Tin Can Tourists," *Outlook* 128 (25 May 1921): 166-9.

12. Editorial in *Hoosier Motorist* 12 (May 1924): 5; *Map of the State Highway System*, 1926.

13. "Fake Warning Signs," *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (September 1926): 5.

14. H.K. Stormont, "Farmer's Safety First Measure Gives Clear View at Road Intersection," *Hoosier Motorist* 11 (October 1922): 15.

15. Editorials in *Hoosier Motorist* 12 (October 1924): 5-7; (November 1924): 5.

16. Gold initials are latest fad, according to Popular Mechanics, *Handbook*, 28.

17. *Dixie Highway* magazine prints road condition reports in each issue.

18. Laws and penalties are mentioned in *Hoosier Motorist* 11 (April 1923): 14; Statistics on arrests are listed in *Year Book*, 1925: 679.

19. Speeding and speed limits are mentioned in *Hoosier Motorist* 12 (December 1923): 3; (December 1924): 23; (April 1923): 14; (October 1923): 22.

20. The problem of police corruption is discussed at length in *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (October 1925): 5; (July 1921): 19.

21. Ibid.

22. *Hoosier Motorist* 14 (December 1925): 13; (November 1925): 5-6; *Year Book*, 1925, 679.

23. *Hoosier Motorist* 9 (July 1921): 19; (May 1917): 22-3; (July 1917): 23.

24. "'Alcoholic Trail' Nickname Applied to Dixie Highway at Miami, Florida," *Dixie Highway* (February 1921): 25.

25. How to put on tire chains in mud is detailed in Popular Mechanics, *Handbook*, 28.

26. *Dixie Highway*, February 1917, 9.

27. The Ford's adaptability to rural conditions is mentioned in Flink, *Automobile Age*, 38.

28. Mud-holes and unscrupulous farmers are discussed in John Robinson, *Highways and Our Environment* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 36; the farmer's comment is from a letter in *Hoosier Motorist* 5 (September 1917): 39.

29. *Hoosier Motorist*, lists of eating places in issues from the years 1917-1930.

30. Evolution of roadside restaurants is discussed in Liebs, *Main Street*, 193-221.

31. Editors encourage roadside produce stands in *Hoosier Motorist* 5 (October 1917): 3 and *Hoosier Motorist* 5 (December 1917): 25. The problem of careless motorists is mentioned in Belasco, 56, 74-75; Marguerite A. Salmon, "Automobile Camp Sites and the 'Gipsy' Motorist," *Dixie Highway* (July 1921): 3-5.

32. Preparation of canned foods is discussed in Belasco, *Americans*, 56.

33. Average gas mileage for a Ford is listed in *Hoosier Motorist* 6 (November 1917): 24. The trick of backing up a hill is cited in Popular Mechanics, *Handbook*, 58. The station described does not exist at this location but is typical of stations of the 1920s. For names and locations of gas stations in Logansport (and other Indiana cities), see R.L. Polk, *Polk's Indiana State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1928-29* (Indianapolis: R.L. Polk and Co., 1928), 718-20.

34. Keith A. Sculle, "The Vernacular Gasoline Station: Examples from Illinois and Wisconsin," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1 (Spring/Summer 1981): 56-74.

35. Of both types of pumps tested, only 76.9% met the minimum standards of accuracy. Of the visible pumps tested, 62.9% were accurate within accepted limits. Of these, 6.7% delivered less and 22.8% delivered more than the amount indicated. Of the piston pumps, only 53.3% were accurate; 21.3% delivered less and 9.4% delivered more than the amount indicated. Statistics from *Year Book, 1925*, 559. Other statistics on gasoline pumps are found in *Year Book*, 1925, 559-560, 564; Ethyl gasoline is mentioned in a brief report in *Hoosier Motorist* 13 (January 1925): 22.

36. Statistics from the Fire Marshal's report, *Year Book*, 1925, 61-64. For a general history of gasoline stations, see: John Margolies, *Pump and Circumstance: The Glory Days of the Gas Station* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993); Daniel I. Vierya, *"Fill 'er Up": An Architectural History of America's Gas Stations* (New York: Macmillan, 1979).

37. C.A. Crosser, "Curbing the Curb Pump," *American City* 29 (August 1923): 155-6; John Jakle, "The American Gasoline Station, 1920-1970," *Journal of American Culture* 1 (Fall 1978): 520-542.

38. Greiff, "Overview," 22-3; Jakle, "American Gasoline Station," 521-538; Minnick, "Silent Sentinel," (part 1) 18-27 and (part 2) 24-32.

39. Jakle, "American Gasoline Station," 520-542.

40. Jakle, "American Gasoline Station," 521-29; Ward K. Halbert, "Merchandise Display Window Features Pure Oil Co.'s New Stations," *National Petroleum News* 19 (August 17, 1927): 22-23; Scott H. Suter, "Neither 'Weird' nor 'Elegant:' the Evolution of the Cottage-Style Gas Station," *SCA Journal* 12 (Spring-Summer 1993): 9-13.

41. Ibid.

42. The opening of the River Park camp is announced in *Hoosier Motorist* 9 (September 1921): 26.

43. Thomas Meredith, historical architect with the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, identified these as some of the tallest buildings in Indianapolis in 1925.

44. History of some of the buildings on Monument Circle is found in: Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology, "Circle Centre: Preliminary Case Report, Attachment 4: Inventories and National Register Nominations." Information about parking garages is outlined in "Facilities for Motorists" historic context study, 1994, pp. 32-33 and in advertisements in *Hoosier Motorist*. *Hoosier Motorist* has frequent editorials and letters regarding the traffic problem on the Circle. Information about the construction of the War Memorial is found in Suzanne Rollins Stanis, "Indiana War Memorial Plaza," National Register of Historic Places Nomination, 1987; James H. Charleton, "Indiana War Memorial Plaza Historic District," National Historic Landmark Nomination, 1994, all on file at the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation and Archaeology.

45. For a description of the L.S. Ayres Building, see: Bodenhamer, *Encyclopedia*, s.v. "L.S.Ayres and Company," by Robert F. Gilyeat and Marcus Eugene Woods, II.

46. For a step-by-step description of the operation of an auto laundry, see: "Modern Auto Laundry Cleans Automobile While You Wait," *Hoosier Motorist* 6 (December 1917): 37; "Showalter and the Auto Laundry: The Idea Originated in Indianapolis," *Hoosier Motorist* 7 (July 1919): 26-27; and "'Means a Clean Car': Slogan of Latest Auto Laundry," *Hoosier Motorist* 10 (July 1922): 18.

47. *Hoosier Motorist*, lists of campgrounds 1917-1930; "Camping Grounds Needed Along the Dixie Highway," *Dixie Highway*, November 1920, 15; "Tourist Camps Association Formed," *Dixie Highway*, March 1925, 14.

48. The Bell Tourist Camp was in business at this location from approximately 1917 through at least the early 1930s. *Hoosier Motorist* lists of campgrounds; Rand McNally *Official Auto Trails Map* (guidebook), 1923, 1926; "Handy-Camp Combination Makes the Automobile a Traveling Home," *Hoosier Motorist* 5 (April 1917): 27.

49. Municipal autocamps are discussed in Harry Ansted, "The Auto Camp Community," *Journal of Applied Sociology* 9 (November/December 1925): 136-42; Belasco, *Americans*, 71-103.

50. The Board of Health report is mentioned in *Year Book*, 1925, 548-9; Belasco, *Americans*, 118-19; "Insanitary Tourist Camps," *Literary Digest* (11 October 1924): 61-2. According to this latter article, the report was cited at length in an article in *American Medicine* in 1924, which brought national attention to conditions in Indiana's tourist camps.

51. Belasco, *Americans*, 132-152 discusses cabin camps. The Bell Tourist Camp is mentioned in *Hoosier Motorist* lists all through the 1920s. Few cabin camps survive into the 1990s; the Paradise, in Oaklandon, is probably the most intact. The Lakeview Motel, on the Lafayette Road in southern Boone County, has only one remaining cabin and a battered sign; three of its former cabins have been demolished within the last ten years. On U.S. 31, near Seymour, there stands an intact group of simple cabins, the proprietor's house, and the remains of gas pumps; according to the owner, the complex was opened on Halloween, 1931.

52. Some of the slogans found on autos are mentioned in Ratti, "Alluring Road," 6; and in "That Bathing Girl: And Stickers on the Windshields," *Hoosier Motorist* 13 (April 1925): 18. Camps that have aeroplane landing strips, such as the Bell Tourist Camp, are noted in the lists of facilities in various issues of *Hoosier Motorist*.

53. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 120; "The Cozy Camp-mobile: A Camp Home on Wheels," *Hoosier Motorist* 5 (June 1917): 38; Brimmer, "Autocamping"; author's personal experience in setting up a 1920s umbrella tent. The Cozy Camp-mobile was manufactured by the Cozy Trailer and Equipment Company of Indianapolis, Indiana.

54. "Ten Months' Tour in a Fordalow," *Hoosier Motorist* 5 (April 1917): 10.

55. Automobiling was a frequent topic of popular songs. Grant Clark, Edgar Leslie, and Maurice Abrahams, *He'd Have to Get Under--Get Out and Get Under (to Fix Up His Automobile)*, (New York: Maurice Abrahams Music Co., 1913).

56. Spare tires and methods of dealing with tire thieves are mentioned in Popular Mechanics, *Handbook*, 17, 25, 36.

57. Popular Mechanics, *Handbook*, 17-24, discusses different kinds of tire repairs.

58. *Year Book*, 1925, 534, describes laws governing food stands.

59. Ansted, "Community," 136-8, contains statistics on numbers and types of vehicles in a tourist camp.

60. Report on overcrowding in Florida cities, *Dixie Highway*, February 1917, 8. The problem persisted through the 1920s, according to scattered references in *Hoosier Motorist* and *Dixie Highway*. For a description of Florida and its tourists see: Jaye Kaye, "To Florida and Hollywood," *Hoosier Motorist* 12 (November 1923): 16-19.

61. Tourist rooms are discussed in Mary Bray, "Westfield Memories" Project; John A. Jakle, "Motel by the Roadside: America's Room for the Night," *Journal of Cultural Geography* 1 (Fall/Winter 1980): 37.

62. Roads under construction are marked on *Map of the State Highway System*, 1926. Reports of other construction activities can be found in "Road Conditions on Dixie Highway," *Dixie Highway*, October 1924, 8.

63. Comparative scarcity of facilities on the southern Indiana section of the Dixie Highway, particularly on the stretch from Paoli to New Albany, are based on the following sources: *Hoosier Motorist*, lists of approved facilities; Polk, passim; and author's observations in September 1994. Popular Mechanics *Handbook*, 9, recommends the cement-and-rag repair in an emergency.

64. *Hoosier Motorist*, lists of facilities; author's field observations of filling stations along the Dixie Highway, September 1994.

65. *Hoosier Motorist*, advertisements and lists of facilities; Belasco, *Americans*, 52-56.

66. The first hamburger restaurant chain was White Castle, begun in 1916 and expanded to 115 stores by 1931. The architecture was simple, crenellations and a small tower added onto a building that ranged from 150 to 400 square feet. The white masonry exteriors looked invitingly sanitary. In 1928, White Castle came out with a portable building made of steel panels covered in white porcelain. The building was easy to clean and fireproof. The porcelain-steel construction was soon adopted by gas stations and other businesses. Indianapolis had three White Castles by 1927; only the third one remains today (on Fort Wayne at Vermont). Other restaurant chains copied White Castle's building styles, keeping the medieval or English-cottage look. In the 1930s, the Krystal chain began experimenting with Art Deco buildings, using chrome and streamlining to convey an image of modernity. Liebs, *Main Street*, 205-207; Phillip Langdon, *Orange Roofs, Golden Arches: The*

Architecture of American Chain Restaurants (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 29-49. Information on the White Castle in Indianapolis came from a telephone conversation with a public relations staff member at the White Castle headquarters, October 1993.

67. Langdon, *Orange Roofs*, discusses the rise of fast food and franchising.

68. The evolution of motels is explained in Belasco, *Americans*, 129-173, and Liebs, *Main Street*, 169-181.

69. For a description of the development of tourist courts, see: Jakle, "Motel by the Roadside," 41, and Belasco, *Americans*, 155-170. For a history of Burma-Shave signs and the words to all the jingles, see Frank Rowsome, Jr., *The Verse by the Side of the Road: The Story of the Burma-Shave Signs and Jingles*(Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1965). This particular jingle is mentioned on page 27 as having been introduced in 1934. Preston, *Dirt Roads*, 151-2, mentions roadside advertising signs.

70. Jakle, "American Gasoline Station," 529-32; also see: Margolies, *Pump and Circumstance* and Vierya, *"Fill 'er Up"* for evolution of gas station architecture. The "oblong box" station remains the most popular type through the present day.

71. The spread of interstate highways and bypasses around cities is illustrated in the annual maps published by the Indiana State Highway Commission.

72. Homogenization of roadside architecture is discussed in the introduction to Preston, *Dirt Roads*. Speech by Dr. Ira Boswell of the Northern Kentucky Dixie Highway Association, Louisville *Post*, 28 May 1921.

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VITA

Suzanne Hayes Fischer

Graduated from Comstock High School in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1974. Attended Kalamazoo College from 1974-75, majoring in anthropology. Received B.S. in geography at Michigan State University, 1978. Specialized in cartography and remote sensing, minor fields were anthropology and history.

Currently interning at the Indiana Division of Historic Preservation & Archaeology. Duties include writing and reviewing National Register of Historic Places nominations, writing press releases, and answering public inquiries about the National Register program. Installed National Park Service's Integrated Preservation Software and transferred National Register information into the database.

Researched and wrote an overview of automobile travel and related architecture in Indiana to provide historic context for nominating automobile-related properties to the National Register of Historic Places.

Researched and wrote land-use history of Eagle Creek Park, largest municipal park in the USA, for Indianapolis Department of Parks and Recreation.

Researched and wrote background information and biographies of African-American scientists and inventors for inclusion in a kit of teaching materials for elementary and junior high students as part of a grant awarded to Freetown Village, Indianapolis, IN..

Managed office of non-profit aviation archaeology corporation (TIGHAR), Wilmington, DE, for two months while the directors were on a research expedition in the South Pacific, then assisted in office tasks on their return. Kept membership and financial records, performed public relations duties, and handled media inquiries about the expedition. After the expedition returned, researched information essential to identification of recovered objects.

Member of MOVE team at National Museum of Natural History, Washington, DC. Pulled museum objects from attic storage and prepared them for transportation from NMNH to new storage facility at Suitland, MD. Handled objects ranging from Native American ceramics to African textiles; cleaned and prepared them for long-term storage, unpacked and sorted them at the new facility, and entered appropriate records on the computer. Supervised and trained volunteers and summer interns in object handling and computer registration procedures.

Assistant to the Curator, Old Rhinebeck Aerodrome, Rhinebeck, NY. Helped maintain and restore vintage aircraft and vehicles ranging from a 1909 Blèriot monoplane to a replica WWI German fighter. Researched and painted aircraft markings and wrote exhibit labels. Designed and made reproduction clothing and costumes for use in airshows and exhibit of women's fashion 1880-1930. Handled public relations duties and led group tours. Learned to fly various types of antique aircraft. Developed collections management policy for the museum as part of graduate studies in 1994.

Library clerk, Geology Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Kept circulation and acquisitions statistics, developed database for tracking materials on reserve using dBASE III on an IBM PC. Transferred 8,000 volumes to remote storage and compiled location records.

Operated scanning electron microscope and computerized data collection system for testing the quality of welds on various metals for the Construction Engineering Research Laboratory, U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, Champaign, IL. Prepared metallurgical specimens for testing, translated technical articles from French and German.

Conservation technician at the University of Illinois Library, Urbana, IL. Worked under the chief conservator, repairing books and documents. Made archival storage containers, mended pages, crafted new bindings, learned how to salvage flooded collections.

Aerial photographer and stereoplotter operator, Danner & Associates, Urbana, IL. Flew aerial photography missions, processed black & white film, and plotted topographic maps from stereo photos.

Publications and research in progress include:

Annotated translation of Baroness Kunigünde von Richthofen, *Mein Kriegstagebuch*.

Five entries in the *Garland Encyclopedia of World War I*, 1995: "Aircraft Production," "Fighter Tactics," "Music in the War," "The German Home Front," and "Manfred von Richthofen."

"Schweidnitz Revisited," *Over the Front*, Spring 1991.

"The Fashion Show at Old Rhinebeck Aerodrome," *Vintage Fashions*, January/February 1990.

Member of the following organizations:

American Association for State and Local History
League Of World War One Aviation Historians
Society for Commercial Archaeology